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A treatise on the Religion of the Indians in No. Am., by S. F. Jarvis, is included in the work, also one on their language, by Peter S. Duponceau, of Phila.

Mac Manus, April '76

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NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

Emma Lewis
a Gift of her
Father





SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

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HIS MAJESTY'S CONSUL FOR THE
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SKETCHES

DEDICATION

1847

HISTORY, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. CLOWES,
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BY JAMES BUCHANAN, ESQ.

DEDICATION.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE EARL DALHOUSIE, G.C.B.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF ALL HIS MAJESTY'S
POSSESSIONS IN NORTH AMERICA, &c. &c. &c.

Well aware, my Lord, of the effects produced by splendid talents, great personal worth, and hereditary rank, in promoting any work of benevolence, I solicited and obtained permission to dedicate the following pages to your Excellency.

It is quite unnecessary to speak here of your Lordship's deeds; they are too recent, too illustrious, too intimately connected with the history and the glory of the British Empire.

Wishing your Excellency long to enjoy a reputation thus acquired and merited,

I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient, humble servant,

JAS. BUCHANAN.

New-York, 1st May, 1821.

PREFACE.

IN attempting to lay before the Public a sketch of the History of the Red Indians of North America, with a view to excite a general sympathy in behalf of an oppressed and suffering people, I am aware of the great importance of my undertaking, and sensibly feel my inability to stand forward as an advocate, in any degree equal to the task I have thus imposed on myself.

With but few exceptions, the American Indians have been abandoned by the Christian world, as a cruel, blood-thirsty, and treacherous race, incapable of civilization, and therefore, unworthy of that attention which the inhabitants of other barbarous climes have received from the zeal and devotion of many learned and pious members of society.—Thousands have raised their voices against the wrongs of our black brethren of Africa. From one end of Europe to the other, the humane have been aroused to a sense of their injuries, and are now actively engaged in the prosecution of every measure calculated to alleviate their sufferings; while but few have been stimulated to similar exertions in behalf of the Red American Indians, from whose native soil the wealth of a great portion of the civilized world has been derived. The African is submissive; his patient endurance of labour renders his servile and debased state important to us; he is therefore, preserved. The North American Indian, on the contrary, prefers banishment, and even death, to slavery; but *his* lands are serviceable to us, therefore his extinction

seems to be desired. The one submits to the yoke,—we oppress and pity him: the other disdains to become the servant of man—and his whole race is devoted to gradual extermination; for such must be the inevitable consequence of all those measures which have been, and still are in operation against him, though their infliction is marked by different shades of guilt. In a few ages, perhaps a few years, these sons of Edom will be so far removed from the reach or eye of any but those engaged in the work of destruction, that no trace will be left to posterity of the wrongs which have been perpetrated upon the Aborigines of the great American Continent.

I confess that I had no other idea of an American Indian, than that he was the most ferocious of human beings. Whenever he became named, his scalping-knife, tomahawk, warwhoop, and thirst of blood, were at once associated in my mind; and hence I was led to concur in the almost universal opinion, that he was totally incapable of being rendered subservient to the arts of civilized life. In the course of my travels through the United States and Upper Canada, I met with several Indians, whose external wretchedness induced me to make inquiries as to their present condition; and although many persons to whom I addressed myself appeared to be perfectly indifferent on the subject, and spoke of them in the most degrading terms, I was led to seek for further information respecting their character, in the pursuit of which I have been engaged for three years.

Little did I imagine, that one of the most interesting subjects that can present itself to the human mind, would open upon me; the full developement of which would require the united and extended labours of men of talent and research, the absolute devotion of their time and energies, to place before the world an impartial view of the Indians of North America, whose virtues, independence of mind, and nobleness of character, have procured from their oppressors, as a justification

of those measures of severity which have been practised toward them, the most foul and unjust representations. They have been gradually wasting away from the effects of cruelty and oppression, unheeded and unpitied, until their aggregate numbers, it is conjectured, has been reduced to less than two millions.

It has hitherto been the policy of those by whom the North American Indians have been most oppressed, to represent them as very contemptible in numbers; and although they have become nearly extinct on the borders, and in settled portions of the continent, it may be fairly presumed that the more warlike and active tribes, have removed into the interior, as they have been found in numerous bodies by parties engaged in all the late expeditions. A sufficient number, however, yet remains to excite our sympathy. The wrongs which have been inflicted upon their whole race, have furnished ample regions for the occupancy of civilized man. And does not our past neglect of their suffering and abandoned state, loudly call upon us to make reparation for the ills they have endured—to return to acts of justice, mercy, and kindness; and, though late, to recommend to the surviving Indians the religion we profess, by all those means which the gospel enjoins? In the earnest hope that many may be led to a serious contemplation of this great and glorious object—that many with the talents, energy, and benevolence of a Wilberforce, both in the United States and in Great Britain, may yet be found to interpose their power and energies in behalf of a race destitute of the use of letters—to vindicate their character, and to set forth some portion of their wrongs, I have been led to prosecute my inquiries respecting the North American Indians.

While engaged in these pursuits, I learnt that the Historical Society of Philadelphia, actuated by a laudable desire to preserve an account of the Aborigines, had requested the Rev. John Heckewelder, a Moravian Missionary, to furnish a detail of the information he had acquired during a residence of

the greater portion of his life among the Indians' of Pennsylvania and the adjoining states. That gentleman, although seventy-five years of age, readily engaged in the arduous undertaking, and his "Historical Account of the Indian Nations" has been published in the transactions of the Society, who have thus rendered an important service to science and to mankind; while the reverend author has left on record an unparalleled example of benevolence, sympathy, patience, and self-devotion. From the fulness of his work, I deemed the further prosecution of my labours unnecessary, lest my efforts might appear to many as a mere presumptuous display. I had, therefore, abandoned all intention of placing myself before the public; but upon my arrival in London in the summer of 1820, having casually spoken of the interest I had taken in the present state of the North American Indians, it was suggested, that from my observations and researches, which extended to other tribes than those more particularly noticed by Mr. Heckewelder, together with extracts from such parts of his useful and interesting volume* as tend to confirm and illustrate the facts I had collected, or the views I had taken of the subject, the Public might be presented with a work, in some degree calculated to facilitate the adoption of measures in favour of the Indians.

Under this impression, I have consented to place my humble labours before the Public, disclaiming the slightest pretension to merit as an author, and having no view to pecuniary advantage from the publication: yet I can with confidence state, that with diligence and zeal I have availed myself of every opportunity of collecting information from the most authentic sources. Many curious statements have been rejected, though perhaps true; and the reader is earnestly entreated to keep in mind the fable of the Lion and the Panther, as he will

* Mr. Heckewelder's "Historical Account" exists only in the printed transactions of the Philadelphian Society. It is, on this account, little, if at all, known among the British Public; and I have therefore been copious in my extracts from the Rev. Author's pages.

thereby be induced to view with jealousy, reports which may be prejudicial to the Indian character. Let him also remember, that they have no historians, to record their wrongs, or plead their cause against their oppressors;—yet they believe, as I do, that the Great Spirit hears their sighs and regards their sufferings, and that He will appear to the oppressor and the oppressed as a God of Justice.

Many recent acts of barbarity which have been committed upon the Indians, I have deemed it prudent to omit in the present work; but those who read the speeches in Congress on the late war against the Semanole Indians, will find therein much to excite their sympathy. My object is not to awaken national feelings or prejudices, but to unite the efforts of all good men in behalf of these oppressed children of the wilderness; so that societies may be formed, to watch over their rights, and, by the powerful agency of the press, to restrain lawless power from further acts of cruelty and injustice. —Happily this feeling has of late been extended in the United States; and the humane and just sentiments promulgated by His Excellency De Witt Clinton, Governor of the State of New York, the unwearied zeal of Mr. Colden, the mayor, and the humane disposition of many persons of the highest respectability in the United States, lead me to avoid even the appearance of wishing to allow any sentiment to mingle in this work, which might attach to it an air of nationality. The kindness and civility which I have experienced from all ranks in the United States, I shall ever be ready to acknowledge.

With this exposition of my motives, sources of information, and desires, I trust my feeble efforts will be supported by all classes of people; and, entreating a favourable feeling towards the execution and arrangement, I commit the cause of the American Indians to an enlightened and benevolent Public.

New York, 1 May, 1821.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY.

MY design in the following pages is rather to collect a series of facts and observations, bearing on *the recent and present state and character* of the North American Indians, than to furnish an account of their remote history. Whether they are or are not the Aborigines ; whether their derivation is to be sought among the Tartars, who, in ages past, according to the sublime hypothesis of Governor De Witt Clinton, over-ran and exterminated nations who then inhabited great part of North America, and who had made considerable progress in the arts of civilized life ; whether the theory adopted by Adair and Dr. Boudinot be true, that they are the descendants of the long-lost ten tribes of Israel ; whether, in short, America was peopled from any of the countries of the old hemisphere, or those from America, are questions which, however interesting, I leave to be discussed by abler Antiquarians than myself. My anxiety, awakened by the present oppressed and demoralized condition of the red Indians, has indeed glanced backwards a few

years to ascertain their character previous to their intercourse with European man; and I think it might be safely asserted that until that fatal period of their history, they were, in the unsophisticated qualities of mind, one of the noblest people of the earth. It is indeed astonishing how, without the aid of science or letters, they could have acquired so much of that moral power, dignity, and courtesy, which in our pride we attribute exclusively to civilized life. Their religious belief is, to say the least of it, purer than that of refined and philosophical Greece and Rome; and they follow its doctrines with perfect sincerity. Neither infidelity, luke-warmness, nor hypocrisy in regard to spiritual matters is ever found among them, excepting, indeed, their prophets, priests, and conjurers. We are told by M. De la Salle, in the account of his last expedition and discoveries in North America, in 1678, "that at the decrease of the moon the Indians carried a great dish of their *greatest dainties* to the door of the temple, as an oblation sacrifice; which the priests offered to their god, and then they carried it home, and feasted themselves with it." Here, at any rate, is a little touch of sacerdotal refinement, worthy of an European Friar.

Their languages are characterized by abundance, strength, comprehensiveness of expression, and admirable method in their grammatical structure; "indeed," says Mr. Duponceau, "from the view offered by Mr. Heckewelder of the Lenni Lenape idiom, it would rather appear to have been formed

by philosophers in their closets, than by savages in the wilderness*.” And in their oratory, which they take great pains to cultivate, they have never been exceeded, in ancient or modern senates, for pertinent argument, and eloquence both imaginative and pathetic. Governor Clinton, speaking of the Iroquois or Five Nations, tells us that, “ their exterior relations, general interests, and national affairs were conducted and superintended by a great council, assembled annually in Onondaga, the central canton, composed of the chiefs of each republic ; and eighty sachems were frequently convened at this national assembly. It took cognizance of the great questions of war and peace ; of the affairs of the tributary nations, and of their negotiations with the French and English colonies. All their proceedings were conducted with great deliberation, and were distinguished for order, decorum, and solemnity. In eloquence, in dignity, and in all the characteristics of profound policy, they surpassed an assembly of feudal barons, and were perhaps not far inferior to the great Amphyctionic Council of Greece†.” In another place he speaks of the sublime display of intellectual power in the address of Garangula, an Onondaga chief, to M. Delabarre, a French general, who in 1683, marched with an army against the Iroquois. This rhetorical talent, however, is declared by the same authority to be peculiar to the Five Nations.

* Duponceau's Report to the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, p. 14.

† De Witt Clinton's Discourse to the New York Society, p. 49, 50.

“The most remarkable difference,” he states, “existed between the confederates and the other Indian nations, with respect to eloquence. You may search in vain in the records and writings of the past, *or in events of the present times*, for a single model of eloquence among the Algonkins, the Abenakis, the Delawares, the Shawanese, or any other nation of Indians except the Iroquois*.” On the other hand, the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder, who has spent the greater portion of a long life among the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, has affirmed in his historical account of the Indian nations, (of which the Lenni Lenape and the Iroquois form the two great divisions,) that the Delawares are also conspicuous for oratorical ability. He quotes a speech of Captain Pipe, a chief of that nation, and has made use of the following words in commenting on it. “Here we see boldness, frankness, dignity, and humanity happily blended together, and most eloquently displayed. I am much mistaken if the component parts of this discourse are not put together much according to the rules of oratory which are taught in the schools, and which were certainly unknown to this savage. The peroration is short, but truly pathetic, and I would say, sublime; and then the admirable way in which it is prepared! I wish I could convey to the reader’s mind only a small part of the impression which this speech made on me and on all present when it was delivered†.”

* De Witt Clinton’s Discourse to the New York Society, p. 71.

† Heckewelder’s Historical Account of the Indian Nations, p. 124.

The assertion of Governor Clinton seems to have resulted from his knowing more of the Five Nations than of any other tribe of Indians. The Shawanese, no less than the Delawares, are among his list of exceptions; and yet we find, in the book lately published by Mr. Hunter, a most splendid example of eloquence in a speech of Te-cum-seh, a Shawanee warrior*. The effect it had on his hearers, one of whom was Mr. Hunter himself, was electrical; and I will quote his account of it, in order to shew that the high opinion of Indian oratory is not derived from any one authority which might be exaggerated, or through the medium of professed translators, who might be disposed to manufacture these harangues, after a given model, into the European tongues; but that it operates upon all alike, and shines with the same character through every variety and accident of interpretation. The Indian orations have been rendered by illiterate persons sent among them to conciliate their favour; by prisoners, male and female, who learnt the language during their captivity; by learned missionaries; by traders, who will not perhaps be suspected of romantic enthusiasm; by Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans; and the result, in all cases, has been very similar. The doubts, therefore, which have been, and still continue to be, entertained as to Indian eloquence, are, to say the least of them, inconsiderate. The probability is that they are injured, rather than improved, by transmission into Euro-

* Hunter's *Memoirs of a Captivity among the North American Indians*, p. 43, &c.

pean languages. "I wish it was in my power," says Mr. Hunter, speaking of Te-cum-seh, "to do justice to the eloquence of this distinguished man; but it is utterly impossible. The richest colours, shaded with a master's pencil, would fall infinitely short of the glowing finish of the original. The occasion and subject were peculiarly adapted to call into action all the powers of genuine patriotism; and such language, such gestures, such feelings, and fulness of soul contending for utterance, were exhibited by this untutored native of the forest in the central wilds of America, as no audience, I am persuaded either in ancient or modern times, ever before witnessed. His discourse made an impression on my mind, which I think, will last as long as I live."

The hospitality of the Indians has been pretty generally allowed; and it is no small proof of the excellent regulation of their minds, that they are not in the lightest degree addicted to the pernicious practice of back-biting. "Even the profligate look with contempt on the slanderer; while he is singled out with the finger of scorn by the more respectable, who shun him as they would the poisonous serpent. None will venture to traduce those who sustain a fair and honorable character; and as for the worthless, they never condescend to talk about them. Slander, therefore, the most pitiful vice of little and malicious minds, is beneath the notice even of the Indian women*."

A strong sense of justice is innate among the In-

* Hunter, p. 272.

dians; they entertain the greatest respect for the aged and tender, and are unwearied in lavishing delicate attentions on them; their friendship is inviolable; and we are told by Carver in his travels, with what moderation, humanity, and delicacy they treat female prisoners, and particularly pregnant women. Their conduct in this latter particular is not confined to females of their own colour, but is extended to white women, the mothers of their inexorable destroyers. Of this I shall have occasion, in the course of my work, to cite a touching instance from the valuable pages of Mr. Heckewelder.

I might, perhaps, be thought their indiscriminate panegyrist, were I to go on and state the simple beauty and wisdom of their system of education; the faith they keep in their treaties; their lofty courage, and the magnanimity they display on occasions in private life which are too apt to stir up the resentment and envy, and all the mean passions of civilized man. It will be naturally expected, that having given this summary of Indian virtues, I should say something of Indian vices; and I am happy that the latter will bear no proportion to the former catalogue. Cruelty and an eager appetite for revenge, are the chief, if not the only, deformities of their nature; and these are scarcely ever manifested, except in their open hostilities, the causes of which are precisely similar to those which actuate civilized nations. Then, indeed, their ferocity breaks out with almost demoniacal fury; their captives are generally doomed to death; but it is not until they have undergone the the most exquisite tortures, the most ingenious, un-

utterable, and protracted agony, that the final blow is given. These atrocious practices are not, however, peculiar to our unlettered Indians. The metal boot and wedge, the thumb-screw, the rack, the gradual burnings of Smithfield, the religious butchery of the bloody Piedmontese "who rolled mother with infant down the rocks," the dismemberment by horses, "Luke's iron crown, and Damien's bed of steel," sufficiently attest the claims of enlightened man to distinction in the art of torture. "But the Five Nations," says Governor Clinton, in his masterly and eloquent discourse, "notwithstanding their horrible cruelty, are in one respect entitled to singular commendation for the exercise of humanity; those enemies they spared in battle they made free; whereas, with all other barbarous nations," and he might have added with most civilized nations, "slavery was the commutation of death. But it becomes not us, if we value the characters of our forefathers; it becomes not the civilized nations of Europe who have had American possessions, to inveigh against the merciless conduct of the savage. His appetite for blood was sharpened and whetted by European instigation, and his cupidity was enlisted on the side of cruelty by every temptation*." Our author in seeking for causes to extenuate the inhumanity of the Indians, might have said something of their natural and just resentment of the aggressions and tyranny of the man of Europe, by whom they have been reduced to the lowest state of wretchedness. In the wars between France and England and their colonies, their

* De Witt Clinton's Discourse, p. 55.

Indian allies were entitled *to a premium for every scalp of an enemy*. In the war preceding 1703, the government of Massachusetts gave twelve pounds for every Indian scalp; in that year the premium was raised to forty pounds, but in 1722, it was augmented to *one hundred pounds!* a sum sufficient to purchase a considerable extent of American land. An act was passed on the 25th of February 1745, by the American colonial legislature, entitled, "*An Act for giving a reward for such scalps, &c. &c.*" Not content with this execrable pollution of their minds by the agency of lucre, we have sown party division among the Indians, which in all its discordant shapes rages with uncontrolled sway. "Their nations are split up into fragments; the son is arrayed against the father; brother against brother; families against families; tribes against tribes; and canton against canton. They are divided into factions, religious, political and personal; Christian and Pagan; American and British; the followers of Cornplanter and Sagoua Ha; of Skonadoi and Captain Peter. The minister of destruction is hovering over them, and before the passing away of the present generation, not a single Iroquois will be seen in the state of New York*."

Yet with all this guilt at our doors we call the poor Indians "savages,—barbarians." Yes, they have, indeed, become so since they were debauched and contaminated by the liquor and the example of European man. "*Our vices,*" says Heckewelder, "*have destroyed them more than our swords.*" I do not hesitate to say that, in my opinion, their ignorance of

* De Witt Clinton, p. 88, 89.

letters has been the only hinderance to their being, politically speaking, a most powerful people. With the faculty of circulating and improving their natural information, by means of literature, they would either not have been objects for the crafty arts of civilized man, or they would have been invulnerable to them, and never could have been driven from their territories. Their courage and warlike character, unaided by learning, are things but of inferior force. "Knowledge" says Bacon, "is power." How with such elements of mind as they possess, they could, unlike other originally great people, have continued destitute of written wisdom, must ever remain a mystery. It is this important want which compels them to endure their wrongs in silence. They have no means of making their grievances known to the rest of the world; but must look for intercessors among those who have robbed and enslaved them. "Why then," I may ask with the benign Heckewelder, "should not a white man, a Christian, who has been treated by them at all times with hospitality and kindness, plead their honest cause, and defend them as they would defend themselves, if they had but the means of bringing their facts and their arguments before an impartial public? Let it not be said that among the whole race of white Christian men, not one single individual could be found, who, rising above the cloud of prejudice with which the pride of civilization has surrounded the original inhabitants of this land, would undertake the task of doing justice to their many excellent qualities, and raise a small frail monument to their memory."

CHAPTER II.

INDIAN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE
DUTCH AT NEW YORK ISLAND.

THE following simple and touching relation of this important event, was taken down many years since from the mouth of an intelligent Delaware Indian, by Mr. Heckewelder, and may be considered as a correct account of the tradition existing among them. It is given as much as possible in their own language.

“ A great many years ago, when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some Indians who were out a fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. These Indians immediately returning to the shore, apprized their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together, and saw with astonishment the phenomenon which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was ; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal,

while others were of opinion it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded that this wonderful object was moving towards the land, and that it must be an animal or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and watermen to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay, concluded it to be a remarkably large house in which the Mannitto (the Great or Supreme Being) himself was present, and that he probably was coming to visit them.

“ By this time the chiefs were assembled at York Island and deliberating as to the manner in which they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols or images were examined and put in order, and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him if he was angry with them.

“ The conjurers were also set to work, to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. To these and to the chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women and children were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a loss what to do; a dance, however, commenced in great confusion.

“ While in this situation, fresh runners arrived declaring it to be a large house of various colours; and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain, that it is the great Mannitto, bringing them some kind of game, such as he had not given them before; but other runners soon after arriving declare that it is positively a house full of human beings, of quite a different colour from that of the Indians, and dressed differently from them; that in particular one of them was dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto himself. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand; yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of their country. Many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visiter, who might find them out and destroy them. The house, some say, large canoe, at last stops, and a canoe of a smaller size comes on shore with the red man and some others in it; some stay with his canoe to guard it.

“ The chiefs and wise men, assembled in council form themselves into a large circle, towards which

the man in red clothes approaches with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the unknown strangers is to them a subject of wonder; but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He, surely, must be the great Mannitto, but why should he have a white skin? Meanwhile, a large *Hackhack** is brought by one of his servants, from which an unknown substance is poured out into a small cup or glass, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks—has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next to him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle, without the liquor being tasted by any one, and is upon the point of being returned to the red-clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them, says he, by the Mannitto, that they should drink out of it, as he himself had done. To follow his example would be pleasing to him; but to return what he had given them might provoke his wrath, and bring destruction on them. And since the orator believed it for

* *Hackhack* is properly a gourd, but since they have seen glass bottles and decanters, they call them by the same name.

the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drunk, and as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself, let the consequence be what it might; it was better for one man to die, than that a whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewell, at once drank up its whole contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief, to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoaned his fate, he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up and declares, that he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drunk the cup. He asks for more, his wish is granted; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated.

“ After this general intoxication had ceased, (for they say that while it lasted the whites had confined themselves to their vessel,) the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them consisting of beads, axes, hoes and stockings, such as the white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other, and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here, that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit the next year, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them a while; but as they could not live without eating, they should want a

little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other; but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had given them the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings were made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut trees down before their eyes, hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implements, and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks, for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for an inferior Mannitto, attendant on the supreme Deity who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians, they at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground for a garden spot as, they said, the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request; but the whites then took a knife and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up to a long rope, not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up, it made a great heap; they then took the rope at one end, and drew it gently along, carefully

avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out into a circular form, and being closed at its end, encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites*, but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had still enough themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly together for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true."

* These Dutchmen were probably acquainted with what is related of Queen Dido in ancient history, and thus turned their classical knowledge to a good account.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN RELATIONS OF THE CONDUCT OF THE
EUROPEANS TOWARDS THEM.

LONG and dismal, says the reverend author* whose work I have so often alluded to, are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate. Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a *white man*.

They are, in general, very minute in these recitals, and proceed with a great degree of order and regularity. They begin with the Virginians, whom they call the *long knives*, and who were the first European settlers in this part of the American continent. "It
" was we," say the Lenape, Mohicans, and their kindred tribes, "who so kindly received them on their
" first arrival into our country. We took them by the
" hand, and bid them welcome to sit down by our
" side, and live with us as brothers; but how did
" they requite our kindness? They at first asked

* Heckewelder, from whose work this and the foregoing chapter are extracted. I have had the less scruple in using them, because the two chapters are in themselves nothing more than a concentration of the different traditions which are floating up and down among the Indian tribes.

“ only for a little land on which to raise bread for
“ themselves and their families, and pasture for
“ their cattle, which we freely gave them. They soon
“ wanted more, which we also gave them. They saw
“ the game in the woods, which the Great Spirit had
“ given us for our subsistence, and they wanted that
“ too. They penetrated into the woods, in quest of
“ game, they discovered spots of land which pleased
“ them; that land they also wanted, and because we
“ were loth to part with it, as we saw they had al-
“ ready more than they had need of, they took it
“ from us by force and drove us to a great distance
“ from our ancient homes.

“ By and by the *Dutchemaan** arrived at *Manahach-*
“ *tánienk* †,” (here they relate with all its details what
has been said in the preceding chapter.) “ The great
“ man wanted only a little, little land, on which to
“ raise greens for his soup, just as much as a bul-
“ lock’s hide would cover. Here we first might have
“ observed their deceitful spirit. The bullock’s hide
“ was cut up into little strips, and did not cover, in-
“ deed, but encircled a very large piece of land,
“ which we foolishly granted to them. They were
“ to raise *greens* on it, instead of which they planted
“ *great guns*; afterwards they built strong houses,
“ made themselves masters of the island, then went
“ up the river to our enemies, the Mengwe, made a
“ league with them, persuaded us by their wicked
“ arts to lay down our arms, and at last drove us
“ entirely out of the country.

* The Hollanders. . † Manhattan, or New York Island.

“ When the *Yengeese** arrived at *Machtitschwanne*†, “ they looked about every where for good spots of “ land, and when they found one they immediately “ and without ceremony possessed themselves of it; “ we were astonished, but still we let them go on, “ not thinking it worth while to contend for a little “ land. But when at last they came to our favourite “ spots, those which lay most convenient to our “ fisheries, then bloody wars ensued: we would have “ been contented that the white people and we should “ have lived quietly beside each other; but these white “ men encroached so fast upon us, that we saw at “ once we should lose all, if we did not resist them. “ The wars that we carried on against each other “ were long and cruel. We were enraged when we “ saw the white people put our friends and relatives “ whom they had taken prisoners on board of their “ ships, and carry them off to sea, whether to drown “ or sell them as slaves, in the country from which “ they came, we knew not, but certain it is that none “ of them have ever returned or even been heard of. “ At last they got possession of the whole of the “ country which the Great Spirit had given us. One “ of our tribes was forced to wander far beyond “ Quebec; others dispersed in small bodies, and “ sought places of refuge where they could; some

* An Indian corruption of the word *English*, whence probably the nickname *Yankces*.

† This word means “ a cluster of islands with channels every way, so that “ it is in no place shut up or impassable for craft.” The Indians think that the white people have corrupted this word into *Massachusetts*. It deserves to be remarked as an example of the comprehensiveness of the Indian languages.

“ came to Pennsylvania; others went far to the west-
“ ward and mingled with other tribes.

“ To many of those, Pennsylvania was a last, de-
“ lightful asylum. But here, again, the Europeans
“ disturbed them, and forced them to emigrate, al-
“ though they had been most kindly and hospitably
“ received. On which ever side of the *Lenapewihit-*
“ *tuck**, the white people landed, they were welcomed
“ as brothers by our ancestors, who gave them lands
“ to live on, and even hunted for them, and furnished
“ them with meat out of the woods. Such was our
“ conduct to the white men†, who inhabited this
“ country, until our elder brother, the great and good
“ MIQUON‡, came and brought us words of peace
“ and good will. We believed his words, and
“ his memory is still held in veneration among us.
“ But it was not long before our joy was turned into
“ sorrow: our brother Miquon died, and those of
“ his good counsellors who were of his mind, and
“ knew what had passed between him and our an-
“ cestors, were no longer listened to; the strangers§,
“ who had taken their places, no longer spoke to us
“ of sitting down by the side of each other as brothers
“ of one family; they forgot that friendship which
“ their great man had established with us, and was
“ to last to the end of time; they now only strove to
“ get all our land from us by fraud or by force, and
“ when we attempted to remind them of what our
“ good brother had said, they became angry, and

* The Delaware river.

† The Swedes and Dutch.

‡ William Penn.

§ Land traders and speculators.

“ sent word to our enemies the Mengwe, to meet
 “ them at a great council which they were to hold with
 “ us at *Læhawake* *, where they should take us by
 “ the hair of our heads, and shake us well. The
 “ Mengwe came, the council was held, and in the
 “ presence of the white men, who did not contradict
 “ them, they told us that we were women, and that
 “ they had made us such; that we had no right to
 “ any land, because it was all theirs; that we must
 “ be gone; and that as a great favour they permitted
 “ us to go and settle further into the country, at
 “ the place which they themselves pointed out at
 “ Wyoming †.”

Thus these good Indians, with a kind of melancholy pleasure, recite the long history of their sufferings. After having gone through these painful details, they seldom fail to indulge in bitter, but too just reflections upon the men of Europe. “ We and our
 “ kindred tribes,” say they, “ lived in peace and
 “ harmony with each other, before the white people
 “ came into this country; our council house ‡ ex-
 “ tended far to the north and far to the south. In the
 “ middle of it we would meet from all parts to
 “ smoke the pipe of peace together. When the white
 “ men arrived in the south, we received them as
 “ friends; we did the same when they arrived in the
 “ east. It was we, it was our forefathers, who made

* Easton.

† This actually took place at a treaty held at Easton, in July and November, 1756.

‡ *Council house* here means, “*Connexion District*.”

“ them welcome, and let them sit down by our side.
 “ The land they settled on was ours. We knew not
 “ but the Great Spirit had sent them to us for some
 “ good purpose, and therefore we thought they must
 “ be a good people. We were mistaken; for no
 “ sooner had they obtained a footing on our lands,
 “ than they began to pull our council house down*
 “ first at one end and then at the other, and at last
 “ meeting each other at the centre, where the coun-
 “ cil fire was yet burning bright, they put it out†,
 “ and extinguished it with our own blood‡! with the
 “ blood of those§ who with us had received them!
 “ who had welcomed them in our land! Their blood
 “ ran in streams into our fire, and extinguished
 “ it so entirely, that not one spark was left us where-
 “ by to kindle a new fire||; we were compelled to

* *Pulling the council house down.* Destroying, dispersing the community, preventing their further intercourse with each other, by settling between them on their land.

† *Putting the fire out.* Murdering them or their people, where they assemble for pacific purposes, where treaties are held, &c.

‡ *Our own blood.* The blood flowing from the veins of some of our community.

§ Alluding to the murder of the Conestogo Indians, who though of another tribe, yet had joined them in welcoming the white people to their shores.

In a narrative of this lamentable event, supposed to have been written by the late Dr. Franklin, it is said: “On the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to welcome them with presents of venison, corn and skins, and the whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first proprietor, William Penn, which was to last as long as the sun should shine, or the waters run in the rivers.”

|| *The fire was entirely extinguished by the blood of the murdered running into it; not a spark was left to kindle a new fire.* This alludes to the last fire that was kindled by the Pennsylvanian government and then

“ withdraw ourselves beyond the great swamp*, and
 “ to fly to our good uncle the *Delamattenos*†, who
 “ kindly gave us a tract of land to live on. How
 “ long we shall be permitted to remain in this asy-
 “ lum, the Great Spirit only knows. The whites
 “ will not rest contented until they shall have de-
 “ stroyed the last of us, and made us disappear en-
 “ tirely from the face of the earth.”

I have given here only a brief specimen of the charges which they exhibit against the white people. There are men among them who have by heart the whole history of what took place between the whites and the Indians, since the former first came into their country; and relate the whole with ease and with an eloquence not to be imitated. On the tablets of their memories they preserve this record for posterity. I, at one time, in April 1787, was astonished when I heard one of their orators, a great chief of the Delaware nation, go over this ground, recapitulating the most extraordinary events which had before happened, and concluding in these words: “ I admit there are good white men, but they
 “ bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be
 “ the strongest, for they rule. They do what they
 “ please. They enslave those who are not of their

selves at Lancaster, where the last treaty was held with them in 1762, the year preceding this murder, which put an end to all business of the kind in the province of Pennsylvania.

* *The great Swamp.* The Glades on the Allegheny mountains.

† *Delamattenos.* The Huron or Wyandots, whom they call their uncle. These, though speaking a dialect of the Iroquois language, are in connexion with the Lenape,

“ colour, although created by the same Great Spirit
“ who created us. They would make slaves of us
“ if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us !
“ There is no faith to be placed in their words. They
“ are not like the Indians, who are only enemies
“ while at war, and are friends in peace. They will
“ say to an Indian, ‘ My friend ! my brother ! ’ They
“ will take him by the hand, and at the same mo-
“ ment destroy him. And so you” (addressing him-
self to the Christian Indians) “ will also be treated
“ by them before long. Remember ! that this day I
“ have warned you to beware of such friends as these.
“ I know the *long knives* ; they are not to be trusted.”

Eleven months after this speech was delivered by this prophetic chief, ninety-six of the same Christian Indians, about sixty of them women and children, were murdered at the place where these very words had been spoken, by the same men he had alluded to, and in the same manner that he had described. See Loskiel's History, Part III. ch. 10.

CHAPTER IV.

EVIDENCES OF GENERAL CAPACITY AND TRUE
CONCEPTION OF COURTESY AMONG THE
PRESENT INDIANS.

IN the summer of 1819, during the yellow fever at New York, I took a tour, accompanied by two of my daughters, and a gentleman, to the Falls of Niagara, and through a considerable part of Upper Canada. After stopping more than a week under the truly hospitable roof of the Honourable Colonel Clarke, at the Falls, I determined to proceed by land round Lake Ontario, to York; and Mrs. Clarke offered to give my daughters a letter of introduction to a Miss Brandt, advising us to arrange our time so as to sleep and stop a day or two in the house of that lady, as she was certain we should be much pleased with her and her brother. Our friend did not intimate, still less did we suspect, that the introduction was to an Indian Prince and Princess. Had we been in the least aware of this, our previous arrangements would all have given way, as there was nothing I was more anxious to obtain than an opportunity, such as this was so well calculated to afford, of seeing in what degree the Indian character would be modified by a conformity to the habits and comforts of civilized life.

Proceeding on our journey, we stopped at an inn,

romantically situated, where I determined to remain all night. Among other things I inquired of the landlord if he knew the distance to Miss Brandt's house, and from him I learned that it was about twenty miles off. He added that young Mr. Brandt had passed that way in the morning, and would, no doubt, be returning in the evening, and that if I wished it, he would be on the look out for him. This I desired the landlord to do, as it would enable me to intimate our introduction to his sister, and intention of waiting on her the next morning.

At dusk Mr. Brandt returned, and being introduced into our room, we were unable to distinguish his colour, and conversed with him believing him to be a young Canadian gentleman. We did not, however, fail to observe a certain degree of hesitation and reserve in the manner of his speech. He certainly expressed a wish that we would do him and his sister the favour of spending a few days with them in order to refresh ourselves and our horses; but we thought his style more laconic than hospitable. Before candles were brought in, our new friend departed, leaving us still in error as to his nation and colour.

By four o'clock in the morning, we resumed our journey. On arriving at the magnificent shores of Lake Ontario, the driver of our carriage pointed out at the distance of five miles, the house of Miss Brandt, which had a very noble and commanding aspect; and we anticipated much pleasure in our visit; as beside the enjoyment of so beautiful a spot,

we should be enabled to form a competent idea of Canadian manners and style of living. Young Mr. Brandt, it appeared, unaware that with our carriage we could have reached his house so soon, had not arrived before us; so that our approach was not announced; and we drove up to the door under the full persuasion that the family would be apprized of our coming. The outer door, leading to a spacious hall, was open. We entered, and remained a few minutes, when seeing no person about, we proceeded into the parlour, which like the hall, had no body in it. We, therefore, had an opportunity of looking about us at our leisure. It was a room well furnished with a carpet, pier and chimney glasses, mahogany tables, fashionable chairs, a guitar, a neat hanging book-case, in which, among other volumes, we perceived a church of England prayer-book, translated into the Mohawk tongue, and several small elementary works. Having sent our note of introduction in by the coachman, and still no person waiting on us, we began to suspect, (more especially in the hungry state we were all in), that some delay or difficulty about breakfast stood in the way of the young lady's appearance. Various were our conjectures, and momentarily did our hunger seem to gain rapid strides upon us. I can assure my readers that a keen morning's ride on the shores of an American lake, is a thing of all others calculated to make the appetite clamorous, if not insolent. We had already penetrated into the parlour; and were beginning to meditate a further

exploration in search of the pantry, when to our unspeakable astonishment, in walked a charming, noble-looking Indian girl, dressed partly in the native, and partly in the English costume. Her hair was confined on the head in a silk net, but the lower tresses, escaping from thence, flowed down on her shoulders. Under a tunic or morning dress of black silk, was a petticoat of the same material and colour, which reached very little below the knees. Her silk-stockings and kid shoes were, like the rest of her dress, black. The grace and dignity of her movement, the style of her dress and manner, so new, so unexpected, filled us all with astonishment. With great ease, yet by no means in that commonplace mode so generally prevalent on such occasions, she inquired how we had found the roads, accommodation, &c. No flutter was at all apparent on account of the delay in getting breakfast; no fidgeting and fuss-making, no running in and out, no idle expressions of regret, such as, "Oh, dear me! had I known of your coming, you would not have been kept in this way;" but with perfect ease she maintained the conversation, until a Squaw*, wearing a man's hat, brought in a tray with preparations for breakfast. A table-cloth of fine white damask being laid, we were regaled with tea, coffee, hot-rolls, butter in water and ice-coolers, eggs, smoked-beef and ham, broiled chickens, &c.; all served in a truly neat and comfortable style. The delay, we

* The name of all Indian women.

afterwards discovered, arose from the desire of our hostess to supply us with *hot* rolls, which were actually baked while we waited. I have been thus minute in my description of these comforts, as they were so little to be expected in the house of an Indian.

After breakfast, Miss Brandt, as we must still call her, took my daughters out to walk, and look at the picturesque scenery of the country. She and her brother had previously expressed a hope that we would stay all day; but though I wished of all things to do so, and had determined, in the event of their pressing their invitation, to accept it, yet I declined the proposal at first, and thus forfeited a pleasure which we all of us longed in our hearts to enjoy; for, as I have afterwards learned, it is not the custom of any uncorrupted Indian to repeat a request if once rejected. They believe that those to whom they offer any mark of friendship, and who give a reason for refusing it, do so in perfect sincerity, and that it would be rudeness to require them to alter their determination, or break their word. And as the Indian never makes a shew of civility, but when prompted by a genuine feeling, so he thinks others are actuated by similar candour. I really feel ashamed when I consider how severe a rebuke this carries with it to us who boast of civilization, but who are so much carried away by the general insincerity of expression pervading all ranks, that few indeed are to be found who speak just what they wish or know. This duplicity is the effect of what

is termed a high state of refinement. We are taught so to conduct our language, that others cannot discover our real views or intentions. The Indians are not only free from this deceitfulness, but surpass us in another instance of true good-breeding and decorum, namely, of never interrupting those who converse with them, until they have done speaking; and then they reply in the hope of not being themselves interrupted. This was perfectly exemplified by Miss Brandt and her brother; and I hope the lesson my daughters were so forcibly taught by the natural politeness of their hostess, will never be forgotten by them, and that I also may profit by the example.

After stopping a few hours with these interesting young Indians, and giving them an invitation to pay us a visit at New York, which they expressed great desire to fulfil, and which I therefore confidently anticipate, we took our leave with real regret on all sides. As we passed through the Hall, I expected to see some Indian instruments of war or the chase; but perceiving that the walls were bare of these customary ornaments, I asked Mr. Brandt where all the trophies were that belonged to his family? He told me, and I record it with shame, that the numerous visitors that from time to time called on him, expressed their desire so strongly for these trophies, that one by one he had given all away; and now he was exempt from these sacrifices, by not having any thing of the kind left. He seemed, nevertheless, to cherish with fondness the memory of these relics of his forefathers. How ill did the *civi-*

lised visitors requite the hospitality they experienced under the roof whose doors stand open to shelter and feed all who enter!

As all about our young hostess is interesting, I will add some further particulars. Having inquired for her mother, she told me she remained generally with her other sons and daughters, who were living in the Indian settlement on the grand river that falls into Lake Erie: that her mother preferred being in the Wig-wams, and disapproved, in a certain degree, of her and her brother John's conforming so much to the habits and costume of the English. It may be added that this family are the children of the celebrated Mohawk Indian Chief, Captain Brandt, who was introduced to his late Majesty, and who translated the prayer-book, and part of the scriptures into one of the Indian languages; and that the house where we were so hospitably entertained, was built upon a grant of land bestowed by George the Third on that Mohawk Prince.

My thus becoming acquainted with this young lady and her brother, fully establishes in my mind all I was anxious to prove by the education of a young Indian; and many such instances might be adduced which would evince that wisdom, science, and exaltation of character, are not the exclusive property of any colour, tribe, or nation. The bravery, political sagacity, and knowledge of government, manifested by the negroes who now govern in St. Domingo (not to mention other well-known instances), are calculated to allay the doubts which

used to prevail as to the capacity of the African. But between the Indian of North America, and the African, there is a remarkable difference. The former never can be bowed to become the slave of man, to pay tribute, or to submit, by any hope of reward, to live in vassalage. Free, like the son of Ishmael, he will die rather than yield his liberty; and he is, therefore, hunted down by people who boast of civilization and christianity, and who, while they value their own freedom, do not hesitate to extend their lands and property by the merciless destruction of the unoffending original proprietor. But let not those who still claim the British name, nor the citizens of the United States, deceive themselves in the belief that because the poor Indians, whose lands they possess, and whose rivers they navigate, have no powerful voice to blazon their wrongs, and hold them up to the abhorrence of mankind, they will always rest unavenged; or that the *civilization* which is pompously carried on, but which is in fact a slow consuming system of extinction, will avert the retributive justice which God will assuredly render. The poor Indians confess that for their crimes they are now placed by the Great Spirit under the feet of the white men, and in the midst of their sufferings, they pathetically warn their cruel oppressors that the time may yet come when the Lord will have pity on them, and in turn, punish the Europeans. Truly the ways of the Almighty are wonderful! The apparent prosperity of the wicked are among the most unaccountable features of the will of our Crea-

tor, and would be utterly without a solution had we not the Bible to guide us into a right understanding of his designs. However the deist may scoff, or the philosopher doubt, yet therein we see that though the wrath of God may be long delayed, the punishment of iniquity will assuredly come to pass. The re-action of crime and punishment is to be seen in the history of all nations. Let the European oppressors of the Indian savage, as he is called, look to it in time; and while the diffusion of the true principles of Christianity throughout the British empire, is followed by clemency and mercy to the African, it is to be hoped the same benevolent spirit will extend itself to the noble-minded Aborigines of North America; and that instead of supplying arms, ammunition, blankets, and rum, we may lead them to the arts and blessings of peace, and to the improvement of their admirable native talent.

With regard to the terms, "*barbarians*" and "*savages*," which it is the fashion to lavish so prodigally on our Indians, let us hear what the philosophical French essayist, Montaigne, said of them, in reference to these appellations, between two and three hundred years ago. "I find that there is nothing *barbarous* and *savage* in this nation, by any thing I can gather, excepting that every one gives the title of barbarity to every thing that is not in use in his own country: as indeed we have no other level of truth and reason, than the example and idea of the opinions and customs of the place wherein we live. *There* is always the true religion; *there*

the perfect government, and the most exact and accomplished usance of all things. They are savages at the same rate, that we say fruits are wild, which nature produces of herself, and by her own ordinary progress; whereas, in truth, *we ought rather to call those wild, whose natures we have changed by our artifice*, and diverted from the common order. *****

These nations, then, seem to me to be so far barbarous, as having received but very little form and fashion from art and human invention, and consequently, not much remote from their original simplicity. The laws of nature, however, govern them still, not, *as yet*, much vitiated with any mixture of ours; but in such purity, that I am sometimes troubled we were no sooner acquainted with these people, and that they were not discovered in those better times, when there were men much more able to judge of them, than we are. I am sorry that Lycurgus and Plato had no knowledge of them; for to my apprehension, what we now see in those natives, does not only surpass all the images with which the poets have adorned the golden age, and all their inventions in feigning a happy estate of man; but, moreover, the fancy and even the wish of philosophy itself. So native and so pure a simplicity, as we, by experience, see to be in them, could never enter into the imagination of the ancient philosophers, nor could they ever believe that human society could have been maintained with so little artifice. Should I tell Plato that it is a nation wherein there is no manner of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no science

of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor political superiority, no use of service, no *riches* or *poverty*, no contracts, no successions, no dividends, no proprieties, no employments but those of leisure, no respect of kindred, but common, no clothing, no agriculture, no metal, no use of corn or wine, and where so much as the very words that signify lying, treachery, dissimulation, avarice, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of,—how much would he find his imaginary republic short of this perfection*."

Our author, in the detail of his negations, is a little incorrect, but the passage, on the whole, is a noble and profound vindication of this primitive people.

* Montaigne's Essays, book 1. chap. 30. Cotton's translation.

CHAPTER V.

FEELINGS AND VIEWS OF THE INDIANS AT THE PRESENT HOUR, WITH SOME SPECIMENS OF THEIR RECENT ORATORY.

SEVERAL chiefs from the Missouri territory, (a part of North America which is inhabited by tribes of Indians, who, from the remoteness of their situation, do not so often as others, come in contact with white men), were brought by order of the government of the United States, to Washington under the guidance of Major O'Fallon. They were subsequently taken on to New York, where, as at Washington, every thing calculated to impress their minds was exhibited to them. Previous to their departure to their native homes, they were introduced to the President of the United States, when the following speeches were delivered by them. The reader, I think, will not fail to discern in these addresses a grand vein of original eloquence, united with great sagacity; another proof of the error of his Excellency De Witt Clinton, in confining the rhetorical talent solely to the Iroquois or Five Nations. It is with feelings of humility that I allude again to this inaccurate statement. No one can have a higher respect for this gentleman than myself. His discourse delivered to the Historical Society of New York, is not surpassed by any docu-

ment I ever read, for profoundness of intellect, philanthropy of sentiment, exquisite beauty of composition, and extent of historical knowledge condensed within a brief space.

Speeches of several of the Chiefs of the Delegation of Indians, under Major O'Fallon, to the President of the United States, in Council, on the 4th of February, 1822.

THE PAWNEE CHIEF.

My Great Father :—I have travelled a great distance to see you—I have seen you and my heart rejoices. I have heard your words—they have entered one ear and shall not escape the other, and I will carry them to my people as pure as they came from your mouth.

My Great Father :—I am going to speak the truth. The Great Spirit looks down upon us, and I call *Him* to witness all that may pass between us on this occasion. If I am here now and have seen your people, your houses, your vessels on the big lake, and a great many wonderful things far beyond my comprehension, which [appear to have been made by the Great Spirit and placed in your hands, I am indebted to my Father here, who invited me from home, under whose wings I have been protected*. Yes, my Great Father, I have travelled with your chief; I have followed him, and trod in his tracks; but there is still *another* Great Father *to whom I am*

* Pointing to Major O'Fallon.

much indebted—it is the Father of us all. Him who made us and placed us on this earth. I feel grateful to the Great Spirit for strengthening my heart for such an undertaking, and for preserving the life which he gave me. The Great Spirit made us all—he made my skin red, and yours white; he placed us on this earth, and intended that we should live differently from each other.

He made the whites to cultivate the earth, and feed on domestic animals; but he made us, red skins, to rove through the uncultivated woods and plains; to feed on wild animals; and to dress with their skins. He also intended that we should go to war—to take scalps—*steal horses from* and triumph over our enemies—cultivate peace at home, and promote the happiness of each other. I believe there are no people of any colour on this earth who do not believe in the Great Spirit—in rewards, and in punishments. We worship him, but we worship him not as you do. We differ from you in appearance and manners as well as in our customs; and we differ from you in our religion; we have no large houses as you have to worship the Great Spirit in: if we had them to-day, we should want others to-morrow, for we have not, like you, a fixed habitation—we have no settled home except our villages, where we remain but two moons in twelve. We, like animals, rove through the country, whilst you whites reside between us and heaven; but still, my Great Father, we love the Great Spirit—we acknowledge his supreme power—our peace, our health, and our happiness depend upon him, and our

lives belong to him—he made us and he can destroy us.

My Great Father:—Some of your good chiefs, as they are called (missionaries), have proposed to send some of their good people among us to change our habits, to make us work and live like the white people. I will not tell a lie—I am going to tell the truth. You love your country—you love your people—you love the manner in which they live, and you think your people brave.—I am like you, my Great Father, I love my country—I love my people—I love the manner in which we live, and think myself and warriors brave. Spare me then, my Father; let me enjoy my country, and pursue the buffalo, and the beaver, and the other wild animals of our country, and I will trade their skins with your people. I have grown up, and lived thus long without work—I am in hopes you will suffer me to die without it. We have plenty of buffalo, beaver, deer and other wild animals—we have also an abundance of horses—we have every thing we want—we have plenty of land, if you will keep your people off of it. My father has a piece on which he lives (Council Bluffs) and we wish him to enjoy it—we have enough without it—but we wish him to live near us to give us good counsel—to keep our ears and eyes open that we may continue to pursue the right road—the road to happiness. He settles all differences between us and the whites, between the red skins themselves—he makes the whites do justice to the red skins, and he makes the red skins do justice to the whites. He

saves the effusion of human blood, and restores peace and happiness on the land. You have already sent us a father; it is enough he knows us and we know him—we have confidence in him—we keep our eye constantly upon him, and since we have heard your words, we will listen more attentively to *his*.

It is too soon, my Great Father, to send those good men among us. *We are not starving yet*—we wish you to permit us to enjoy the chase until the game of our country is exhausted—until the wild animals become extinct. Let us exhaust our present resources before you make us toil and interrupt our happiness—let me continue to live as I have done, and after I have passed to the Good or Evil Spirit from off the wilderness of my present life, the subsistence of my children may become so precarious as to need and embrace the assistance of those good people.

There was a time when we did not know the whites—our wants were then fewer than they are now. They were always within our control—we had then seen nothing which we could not get. Before our intercourse with the *whites* (who have caused such a destruction in our game,) we could lie down to sleep, and when we awoke we would find the buffalo feeding around our camp—but now we are killing them for their skins, and feeding the wolves with their flesh, to make our children cry over their bones.

Here, my Great Father, is a pipe which I present you, as I am accustomed to present pipes to all the

red skins in peace with us. It is filled with such tobacco as we were accustomed to smoke before we knew the white people. It is pleasant, and the spontaneous growth of the most remote parts of our country. I know that the robes, leggins, mockasins, bear-claws, &c., are of little value to you, but we wish you to have them deposited and preserved in some conspicuous part of your lodge, so that when we are gone and the sod turned over our bones, if our children should visit this place, as we do now, they may see and recognize with pleasure the deposits of their fathers; and reflect on the times that are past.

PAWNEE LOUP CHIEF.

My Great Father:—Whenever I see a white man amongst us without a protector, I tremble for him. I am aware of the ungovernable disposition of some of our young men, and when I see an inexperienced white man, I am always afraid they will make me cry. I now begin to love your people, and, as I love my own people too, I am unwilling that any blood should be spilt between us. You are unacquainted with our fashions, and we are unacquainted with yours; and when any of your people come among us, I am always afraid that they will be struck on the head like dogs, as we should be here amongst you, but for our father in whose tracks we tread. When your people come among us, they should come as we come among you, with some one to protect them, whom we know and who knows us. Until this chief came amongst us, three winters since, we roved through the plains

only thirsting for each other's blood—we were blind,—we could not see the right road, and we hunted to destroy each other. We were always feeling for obstacles, and every thing we felt we thought one. Our warriors were always going to and coming from war. I myself have killed and scalped in every direction. I have often triumphed over my enemies.

OTTOE PARTIZAN.

My Great Father:—I am brave, and if I had not been brave I should not have followed my Father here. I have killed my enemies, I have taken their horses, and although I love and respect my Father, and will do any thing he tells me, I will not submit to an insult from any one. If my enemies, of any nation, should strike me, I will rise in the might of my strength, and avenge the spirit of my dead.

O'MAHA CHIEF.

My Great Father:—Look at me—look at me, my father, my hands are unstained with blood—my people have never struck the whites, and the whites have never struck them. It is not the case with other red skins. Mine is the only nation that has spared the long knives. I am a chief, but not the only one in my nation; there are other chiefs who raise their crests by my side. I have always been the friend of the long knives, and before this chief* (Major O'F.) came among us, I suffered much in support of the whites. I was often reproached for being

* Pointing to Major O'Fallon.

a friend, but when my father came amongst us, he strengthened my arms, and I soon towered over the rest.

My Great Father.—I have heard some of your chiefs, who propose to send some good people amongst us, to learn us to live as you do ; but I do not wish to tell a lie—I am only one man, and will not presume, at this distance from my people, to speak for them, on a subject with which they are entirely unacquainted—I am afraid it is too soon for us to attempt to change habits. We have too much game in our country—we feed too plentifully on the buffalo to bruise our hands with the instruments of agriculture.

The Great Spirit made my skin red, and he made us to live as we do now ; and I believe that when the Great Spirit placed us upon this earth he consulted our happiness. We love our country—we love our customs and habits. I wish that you would permit us to enjoy them as long as I live. When we become hungry, naked—when the game of our country becomes exhausted, and misery encompasses our families, then, and not till then, do I want those good people among us. Then they may lend us a helping hand—*then* show us the wealth of the earth—the advantages and sustenance to be derived from its culture.

I am fond of peace, my Great Father, but the Sioux have disturbed my repose. They have struck upon me and killed two of my brothers, and since more of my bravest warriors, whose deaths are still unrevenge. Those Sioux live high up the Missouri, and,

although they have seen my father and heard his words, they rove on the land like hungry wolves, and, like serpents creeping through the grass, they disturb the unsuspecting stranger passing through the country. I am almost the only red skin opposed to war—but, my father, what should I do to satisfy the dead, when every wind coming over their bones bring to my ears their cries for revenge? I am constantly disturbed by the recollection of my brothers, and am afraid to neglect their bones, which have been thrown to the winds, and lie uncovered and exposed to the sun. I must not be slow to avenge their death; I am forced to war, my Great Father, and I am in hopes you will assist me; I am in hopes that you will give some arms to my father to place in the hands of my brave, to enable them to defend their wives and children. Since I have known my father, I have obeyed *his commands*, and when I die I will leave my children to him that he may do with them as he pleases.

O'MAHA PARITZAN.

My Great Father:—My father was a chief, but he grew old, and became dry like grass, and passed away, leaving the roots from which I sprung up, and have grown so large without one mark of distinction. I am still green, but am afraid to die without the fame of my father. I wish you would be so good as to give me a mark to attract the attention of my people, that when I return home I may bring to their recollection the deeds of my father and my claims to dis-

tion. Since I left home I have been much afflicted; death sought me, but I clung to my father and he kept it off. I have now grown fat, and am in hopes to return to my nation. There is my chief, (pointing to the *Big Elk*;) who has no claims, no inheritance from his father. I am now following behind him, and treading upon his heels, in hopes that you and my father here*, will take pity on me and recollect who my father was.

The following minutes of a conference with the Senecas, exhibit what the Indians are subject to even in the state of New York at present.

In Senate, February 11, 1820.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

TO THE SENATE AND ASSEMBLY.

GENTLEMEN—

I have the honour to transmit to you the minutes of a conference with the representatives of the Seneca Indians. I respectfully recommend to your favourable considerations, the objects suggested by them; and as I understand that there is now a bill before you, relative to the ferry at Black Rock, it may be deemed proper by you to consider one of the requests of the Senecas in connexion with the other provisions contained in that bill.

DE WITT CLINTON.

Albany, 11th February, 1820.

* Pointing to Major O'Fallon.

Minutes of a Conference between his Excellency De Witt Clinton, and Pollard and Capt. Strong, the Representatives of the Sachem Chiefs of the Seneca Nation, February 7, 1820.

SPEECH OF THE INDIAN REPRESENTATIVES.

Brother!—I am happy to find you enjoying good health, at the great council fire, in Albany. Although our number is small now before you, yet we come not without authority. We are authorized and instructed to make these communications. We come in company with an agent of the United States. What we do, was agreed upon in a council of the Seneca Nation, before we left home.

Brother!—Last summer, when you were at Buffalo, you will recollect that we had an interview with you, and stated our grievances. We had heard bad accounts before, concerning our reservations. You then stated to us, that you were not prepared to give us an answer to our request, and that you would prefer receiving a delegation from us, in Albany, at the commencement of the winter. We now come. We intended to have come sooner; but the United States' agent having agreed to come with us, and he having been detained at Canandaigu, in making his report, we have been prevented.

Brother!—Our principal object is, to obtain a full and fair statement of you, concerning our reservation. Reports are in circulation, that we have no rights. We want a statement under your hands, what we have, and what we have not. We want to know

whether we can go on with our improvements—whether we are safe from the claims of those who have preemption rights; or, whether we are to be swept away, and robbed and plundered of our own.

Brother!—You can but recollect the treaty between Governor George Clinton, and the Seneca Nation. The treaty embraced a conveyance from us to the people, of a strip of land, of one mile, on the straights of Niagara. The treaty contained a condition that we should enjoy the free privilege of passing the ferry at Black Rock, without paying toll. This right was confined to the Seneca Nation. The enjoyment of this privilege is interrupted. The man who has the care of the ferry, cannot discriminate and determine what Indians have a right to pass toll free. The Six Nations wish to pass toll-free. They are now prevented, and oftentimes have no money to pay. They want a general right. The lease of the ferry expires soon. In consequence of the late war, the papers concerning the before-mentioned treaty, are lost. We now ask a copy of that treaty on parchment.

Brother!—Upon our domains at Buffalo, there are many depredations. We want a commissioner or an attorney appointed to settle our difficulties with the white people—to stand forth on all occasions, as the protector of our interests, and as a pacificator in all disputes which we may have.

Brother!—We last summer informed you of our wishes to receive instruction, and to hear the preaching of the gospel. We solicit aid, that we may instruct our children, build a small edifice in which we

can have religious worship;—we solicit aid too, that will encourage in us a better knowledge of agriculture.

Brother!—We have been defrauded in the sale of our reservation on Genesee river. The land called Bayard's reservation, was purchased by Oliver Phelps, and no equivalent has ever been realized by us. Have we any remedy?

Brother!—One thing more: We wish to speak of the Cattaraugus reservation. We have the right of ferriage on one side of the river. A man, by the name of Mack, deprives us of this right. Have we any remedy?

Brother!—We have been brief. We hope to be understood. We ask answers to our solicitations as soon as they can be given. We depart in the spirit of peace, and may the Great Spirit bless you.

ANSWER.

TO THE SACHEMS, CHIEFS AND WARRIORS OF THE
SENECA INDIANS.

Brethren!—I have received your communication by your representatives, Pollard and Capt. Strong; I am rejoiced to hear of your welfare; may the Great Spirit continue to bless you.

Brethren!—You desire to know the full extent of your rights in your reservations. This request is reasonable. You have an absolute and uncontrolled right to those lands, to all that they contain, and to all that they can produce. To prevent a recurrence of frauds, which have too often been practised by our people on our Red brethren, our laws have ordained,

that no sale of Indian land shall be valid, without the sanction of the government. In your case, the right, of purchasing the lands of your nation, was granted by the state of New York to the state of Massachusetts; Massachusetts conveyed the right to Phelps and Gorham; and afterwards to Robert Morris; Robert Morris again sold it to the Holland land company; and the Holland land company have transferred it to David A. Ogden and his associates. All the right, that Ogden and his company have, is the right of purchasing your reservations, when you think it expedient to sell them; that is, they can buy your lands, but no other persons can. You may retain them as long as you please, and you may sell them to Ogden as soon as you please. You are the owners of these lands in the same way that your brethren, the Oneidas, are of their reservations. They are all that is left of what the Great Spirit gave to your ancestors. No man shall deprive you of them, without your consent. This state will protect you in the full enjoyment of your property. We are strong—we are willing to shield you from oppression. The Great Spirit looks down on the conduct of mankind, and will punish us, if we permit the remnant of the Indian nations, which is with us, to be injured. We feel for you, brethren: we shall watch over your interests; we know that in a future world we shall be called upon to answer for our conduct to our fellow creatures.

I am pleased to hear of your attention to agriculture, education, and religion. Without agriculture,

you will suffer for want of food or clothing: without education, you will be in a state of mental darkness: and without religion, you cannot expect happiness in this world nor in the world to come.

Brethren,—Your suggestions about the appointment of an attorney, to guard you against the intrusions and trespasses of the whites; about the free passage of the Indians over the ferry at Black Rock; about the ferriage on your side of Cattaraugus reservation; and about the erection of a house of worship and education, will be transmitted to the great council, who will, I am persuaded, grant these requests.

Brethren,—I recommend to you, to refrain from those vices which have nearly exterminated all our red brethren. Cultivate sobriety and justice, and may the Great Spirit look down upon you with eyes of mercy!

DE WITT CLINTON.

Albany, 9th February, 1820.

I know not what effect the succeeding document may have on my readers, but to me it is deeply affecting; and furnishes a triumphant proof of the genius of these extraordinary people for eloquence. It is worthy of remark that the interpreter himself was unable to write, though a better evidence than this of the genuineness of the memorial, as proceeding from the unprompted Indians, may, I think, be found in the character of the language. The style is primitive; the short sentences teem with power; a serene majesty is spread over the entire composi-

tion ; and the pathos searches and melts the very soul. It bears a considerable resemblance, in my opinion, to the inspired writings, and could not have been supplied to the Indians by any white scribe ; nor could its peculiar characteristics have been superinduced by the art of the translator. At least such is my belief.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY DE WITT CLINTON, ESQ. GOVERNOR
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, FEB. 14, 1818.

Father,—We learn from your talk delivered at the great council fire in Albany, your opinion of the condition and prospects of your red children.

Father,—We feel that the hand of our God has long been heavy on his red children. For our sins he has brought us low, and caused us to melt away before our white brothers as snow before the fire. His ways are perfect ; he regardeth not the complexion of man. God is terrible in judgment. All men ought to fear before him. He putteth down and buildeth up, and none can resist him.

Father,—The Lord of the whole earth is strong ; this is our confidence. He hath power to build up as well as to pull down. Will he keep his anger for ever ? Will he pursue to destruction the workmanship of his own hand, and strike off a race of men from the earth, whom his care hath so long preserved through so many perils ?






Father,—We thank you that you feel anxious to do all you can to the perishing ruins of your red chil-

dren. We hope, Father, you will make a fence strong and high around us, that wicked white men may not devour us at once, but let us live as long as we can. We are persuaded you will do this for us, because our field is laid waste and trodden down by every beast; we are feeble and cannot resist them.

Father,—We are persuaded you will do this for the sake of our white brothers, lest God, who has appeared so strong in building up white men, and pulling down Indians, should turn his hand and visit our white brothers for their sins, and call them to an account for all the wrongs they have done, and all the wrongs they have not prevented that was in their power to prevent, to their poor red brothers who have no helper.

Father,—Would you be the father of your people, and make them good and blessed of God, and happy, let not the cries of your injured red children ascend into his ears against you.

Father,—We desire to let you know that wrong information hath reached your ears. Our western brothers have given us no land. You will learn all our mind on this subject, by a talk which we sent our Great Father, the President of the United States. We send it to you, that you may see it and learn our mind.

Red Jacket, his  mark,
Young King, his  mark,
Captain Billey, his  mark,
Captain Pollard, his  mark,
Twenty Canoes, his  mark,

James Stephenson, his X mark,
Chief Warrior, his X mark,
John Snow, his X mark,
Stride Town, his X mark,
Wheel Barrow, his X mark,
Captain Cole, his X mark,
Big Kettle, his X mark.

Done at the great council fire, Seneca Village,
near Buffalo, 14th Feb. 1818.

HARRY YORK, Interpreter, his X mark.

P. S. The above Chiefs request your Excellency to publish, or cause to be published, that article of the treaty between the state of New York and the Indians, that relates to their fishing and hunting privileges, which their white brethren seem to have forgotten.

The foregoing address to Governor Clinton arose in consequence of the following passage in his Excellency's Speech to the Legislation, at Albany, delivered on the 27th January, 1818.

“ The Indians in our territory are experiencing the fate of all barbarous tribes in the vicinity of civilized nations, and are constantly deteriorating in character, and diminishing in number; and before the expiration of half a century, there is a strong probability they will entirely disappear. It is understood that the Western Indians are desirous that ours should emigrate to an extensive territory remote from white population, and which will be

granted to them gratuitously. As this will preserve them from rapid destruction; as it is in strict unison with the prescriptions of humanity, and will not interfere with the blessing of religious instruction, there can be no objection to their removal. This, however, ought to be free and voluntary on their part, and whenever it takes place it is our duty to see that they receive an ample compensation for their territory. At the present time they are frequently injured and defrauded by intrusions upon their lands, and some of the most valuable domains of the state are subjected to similar detriment. It is very desirable that our laws should provide adequate remedies in these cases, and that they should be vigorously enforced."

Our subject will be further illustrated by the following, which furnishes another instance of the eternal violation of treaty by the white people in their intercourse with the red men of America.

CORNPLANTER'S LETTER.

Alleghany River, 2d mo. 2d, 1822.

SPEECH OF CORNPLANTER TO THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA.

I feel it my duty to send a speech to the Governor of Pennsylvania at this time, and inform him the place where I was from—which was at Conewaugus, on the Genesee River.

When I was a child, I played with the butterfly, the grasshopper and the frogs; and as I grew up, I

began to pay some attention and play with the Indian boys in the neighbourhood, and they took notice of my skin being a different colour from theirs, and spoke about it. I inquired of my mother the cause, and she told me that my father was a residenter in Albany. I still eat my victuals out of a bark dish—I grew up to be a young man, and married me a wife—and I had no kettle or gun. I then knew where my father lived, and went to see him, and found he was a white man, and spoke the English language. He gave me victuals whilst I was at his house, but when I started to return home, he gave me no provision to eat on the way. He gave me neither kettle nor gun; neither did he tell me that the United States were about to rebel against the government of England.

I will now tell you, brothers, who are in session of the legislature of Pennyslvania, that the Great Spirit has made known to me that I have been wicked; and the cause thereof was the revolutionary war in America. The cause of Indians having been led into sin, at that time, was that many of them were in the practice of drinking and getting intoxicated. Great Britain requested us to join with them in the conflict against the Americans, and promised the Indians land and liquor. I, myself, was opposed to joining in the conflict, as I had nothing to do with the difficulty that existed between the two parties. I have now informed you how it happened that the Indians took a part in the revolution, and will relate to you some circumstances that oc-

curred after the close of the war. General Putnam, who was then at Philadelphia, told me there was to be a council at Fort Stanwix; and the Indians requested me to attend on behalf of the Six Nations—which I did, and there met with three commissioners, who had been appointed to hold the council. They told me they would inform me of the cause of the revolution, which I requested them to do minutely. They then said that it had originated on account of the heavy taxes that had been imposed upon them by the British government, which had been, for fifty years, increasing upon them; that the Americans had grown weary thereof, and refused to pay, which affronted the king. There had likewise a difficulty taken place about some tea (which they wished me not to use, as it had been one of the causes that many people had lost their lives). And the British government now being affronted, the war commenced, and the cannons began to roar in our country. General Putnam then told me at the council at Fort Stanwix, that by the late war, the Americans had gained two objects: they had established themselves an independent nation, and had obtained some land to live upon—the division-line of which, from Great Britain, ran through the lakes. I then spoke, and said that I wanted some land for the Indians to live on, and General Putnam said that it should be granted, and I should have land in the state of New York, for the Indians. General Putnam then encouraged me to use my endeavours to pacify the Indians generally;

and as he considered it an arduous task to perform, wished to know what I wanted for pay therefore? I replied to him, that I would use my endeavours to do as he had requested, with the Indians, and for pay therefore, I would take land. I told him not to pay me money or dry goods, but land. And for having attended thereto I received the tract of land on which I now live, which was presented to me by Governor Mifflin. I told General Putnam, that I wished the Indians to have the exclusive privilege of the deer and wild game—which he assented to. I also wished the Indians to have the privilege of hunting in the woods, and making fires—which he likewise assented to.

The treaty that was made at the aforementioned council, has been broken by some of the white people, which I now intend acquainting the governor with:—Some white people are not willing that Indians should hunt any more, whilst others are satisfied therewith; and those white people who reside near our reservation, tell us that the woods are theirs, and they have obtained them from the governor. The treaty has been also broken by the white people using their endeavours to destroy all the wolves—which was not spoken about in the council at Fort Stanwix, by General Putnam, but has originated lately.

It has been broken again, which is of recent origin. White people wish to get credit from Indians, and do not pay them honestly, according to their agreement. In another respect it has also been broken

by white people, who reside near my dwelling; for when I plant melons and vines in my field, they take them as their own. It has been broken again by white people using their endeavours to obtain our pine trees from us. We have very few pine trees on our land, in the state of New York; and white people and Indians often get into dispute respecting them. There is also a great quantity of whiskey brought near our reservation by white people, and the Indians obtain it and become drunken. Another circumstance has taken place which is very trying to me, and I wish the interference of the governor.

The white people, who live at Warren, called upon me, some time ago, to pay taxes for my land; which I objected to, as I had never been called upon for that purpose before; and having refused to pay, the white people became irritated, called upon me frequently, and at length brought four guns with them and seized our cattle. I still refused to pay, and was not willing to let the cattle go. After a time of dispute, they returned home, and I understood the militia was ordered out to enforce the collection of the tax. I went to Warren, and, to avert the impending difficulty, was obliged to give my note for the tax, the amount of which was forty-three dollars and seventy-nine cents. It is my desire that the governor will exempt me from paying taxes for my land to white people; and also cause that the money I am now obliged to pay, may be refunded to me, as I am very poor. The governor is the person who attends to the situation of the people,

and I wish him to send a person to Alleghany, that I may inform him of the particulars of our situation, and he be authorized to instruct the white people, in what manner to conduct themselves towards Indians.

The government has told us that when any difficulties arose between Indians and white people, they would attend to having them removed. We are now in a trying situation, and I wish the governor to send a person, authorized to attend thereto, the forepart of next summer, about the time that grass has grown high enough for pasture.

The governor formerly requested me to pay attention to the Indians, and take care of them:—we are now arrived at a situation that I believe Indians cannot exist, unless the governor should comply with my request, and send a person authorized to treat between us and the white people, the approaching summer. I have now no more to speak.

CORNPLANTER, His X Mark,

JOSEPH ELKINTON,

Interpreter and Scrivener.

To Joseph Heister,

Governor of Pennsylvania.

I will conclude this chapter with the oration of Te-cum-seh, the celebrated Shawanee warrior, as rendered by Mr. Hunter. It appears, from his account, that “some of the white people among the Osages were traders, and others were reputed to be runners from their Great Father beyond the great waters, to invite the Indians to take up the toma-

hawk against the settlers. They made many long talks, and distributed many valuable presents ; but without being able to shake the resolution which the Osages had formed, to preserve peace with their Great Father, the president. Their determinations were, however, to undergo a more severe trial:—Te-cum-seh now made his appearance among them.”

“ He addressed them in long, eloquent, and pathetic strains ; and an assembly more numerous than had ever been witnessed on any former occasion, listened to him with an intensely agitated, though profoundly respectful, interest and attention. In fact, so great was the effect produced by Te-cum-seh’s eloquence, that the chiefs adjourned the council shortly after he had closed his harangue ; nor did they finally come to a decision on the great question in debate for several days afterwards*.” His proposals were, however, in the end, rejected.

“ *Brothers*,—We all belong to one family ; we are all children of the Great Spirit ; we walk in the same path ; slake our thirst at the same spring ; and now affairs of the greatest concern leads us to smoke the pipe around the same council fire !

“ *Brothers*,—We are friends ; we must assist each other to bear our burthens. The blood of many of our fathers and brothers has run like water on the ground, to satisfy the avarice of the white men. We, ourselves, are threatened with a great evil ; nothing will pacify them but the destruction of all the red men.

* Hunter’s *Memoirs*, p. 48.

“ *Brothers*,—When the white men first set foot on our grounds, they were hungry; they had no place on which to spread their blankets, or to kindle their fires. They were feeble; they could do nothing for themselves. Our fathers commiserated their distress, and shared freely with them whatever the Great Spirit had given his red children. They gave them food when hungry, medicine when sick, spread skins for them to sleep on, and gave them grounds, that they might hunt and raise corn.—Brothers, the white people are like poisonous serpents: when chilled, they are feeble and harmless; but invigorate them with warmth, and they sting their benefactors to death.

“ The white people came among us feeble; and now we have made them strong, they wish to kill us, or drive us back, as they would wolves and panthers.

“ *Brothers*,—The white men are not friends to the Indians: at first, they only asked for land sufficient for a wigwam; now nothing will satisfy them but the whole of our hunting grounds, from the rising to the setting sun.

“ *Brothers*,—The white men want more than our hunting grounds; they wish to kill our warriors; they would even kill our old men, women, and little ones.

“ *Brothers*,—Many winters ago, there was no land; the sun did not rise and set: all was darkness. The Great Spirit made all things. He gave the white people a home beyond the great waters. He supplied these grounds with game, and gave them to his

red children ; and he gave them strength and courage to defend them.

“ *Brothers*,—My people wish for peace ; the red men all wish for peace : but where the white people are, there is no peace for them, except it be on the bosom of our mother.

“ *Brothers*,—The white men despise and cheat the Indians ; they abuse and insult them ; they do not think the red men sufficiently good to live.

“ The red men have borne many and great injuries ; they ought to suffer them no longer. My people will not ; they are determined on vengeance ; they have taken up the tomahawk : they will make it fat with blood ; they will drink the blood of the white people.

“ *Brothers*,—My people are brave and numerous ; but the white people are too strong for them alone. I wish you to take up the tomahawk with them. If we all unite, we will cause the rivers to stain the great waters with their blood.

“ *Brothers*,—If you do not unite with us, they will first destroy us, and then you will fall an easy prey to them. They have destroyed many nations of red men because they were not united, because they were not friends to each other.

“ *Brothers*,—The white people send runners amongst us ; they wish to make us enemies, that they may sweep over and desolate our hunting grounds, like devastating winds, or rushing waters.

“ *Brothers*,—Our Great Father, over the great waters, is angry with the white people, our enemies.

He will send his brave warriors against them ; he will send us rifles, and whatever else we want—he is our friend, and we are his children.

“ *Brothers*,—Who are the white people that we should fear them ? They cannot run fast, and are good marks to shoot at : they are only men ; our fathers have killed many of them : we are not squaws, and we will stain the earth red with their blood.

“ *Brothers*,—The Great Spirit is angry with our enemies ; he speaks in thunder, and the earth swallows up villages, and drinks up the Mississippi. The great waters will cover their lowlands ; their corn cannot grow ; and the Great Spirit will sweep those who escape to the hills from the earth with his terrible breath.

“ *Brothers*,—We must be united ; we must smoke the same pipe ; we must fight each other's battles ; and more than all, we must love the Great Spirit : he is for us ; he will destroy our enemies, and make all his red children happy.”

CHAPTER VI.

ATTACHMENT TO, AND EDUCATION OF, THEIR
CHILDREN.

IN consequence of the universal sentiment that the Indians, from defect of intellect, are incapable of civilization, I fully determined to endeavour to procure a young deserted infant (if such could be found), whom I would have taken and educated with, and as one of my own. My speculations on this plan were, however, frustrated; as all who were intimate with the Indians, concurred in affirming that to obtain one of their children would be impossible. No emolument, or hope of advancement, would induce an Indian to part with his child. What an exalted virtue is here established! People who are esteemed most civilized, most refined, have very different feelings as to their offspring, which in many instances are cast off at their birth to be nursed by a hireling; alienated from their early home, and abandoned to the too often careless guardianship of an academy; consigned to a college, where if they learn something of Virgil and the mathematics, they also get initiated, before their manhood, into every species of dissipation; and finally sent to remote parts of the globe (no matter where) with little, if any, regard to a single consideration other than the acquirement of wealth. How few of the duties obligatory on parents are fulfilled by the majority of Christian fathers and mothers!

The tender solicitude of the Indian women, in respect of their children, I have had several opportunities of witnessing; but it was never more completely developed than by the following incident which took place before my eyes.

A mother with an infant at her breast, and two other children, one about eleven and the other eight or nine years of age, were in a canoe near a mile from land, during a violent squall. The wind came in sudden gusts, and the waves dashed in rapid succession over the frail vessel. The poor woman, with a small oar in one hand and the other surrounding her babe, directed the two young ones, who each had a paddle, to get the head of the canoe to the wind while the squall lasted; which, with much labour on the part of these tender little mariners, aided by the mother, was at length effected; but during the effort it was very touching to see the strong emotions of maternal love, evidenced to the poor infant at her breast. She would clasp it tightly to her agitated bosom, then cast a momentary look at her other children, and with an anxious and steady gaze, watch the coming wave. In this scene were exhibited such high degrees of fortitude, dexterity, and parental affection, that I could have wished many of our civilized mothers, who look and think with contempt on the poor Indian, had beheld her.

This tenderness in the early nurture of their offspring, is followed by the most exact care in their subsequent education. "It may justly be a subject of wonder," says Mr. Heckewelder, "how a nation,

without a written code of laws or system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistrate, can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues; how a people can be well and effectually governed, without any external authority, by the mere force of the ascendancy which men of superior minds have over those of a more ordinary stamp; by a tacit, yet universal submission to the aristocracy of experience, talents, and virtue! Such, nevertheless, is the spectacle which an Indian nation exhibits to the eye of a stranger. I have been a witness to it for a long series of years, and after much observation and reflection to discover the cause of this phenomenon, I think I have reason to be satisfied that it is in a great degree to be ascribed *to the pains which the Indians take to instil at an early age honest and virtuous principles upon the minds of their children, and to the method which they pursue in educating them.* This method I will not call a system, for systems are unknown to these sons of nature, who, by following alone her dictates, have at once discovered, and follow without effort, that plain obvious path which the philosophers of Europe have been so long in search of*."

The manner of this education is described by our good missionary as follows:—

"The first step that parents take towards the

* Heckewelder's Historical Account, p. 98.

education of their children, is to prepare them for future happiness, by impressing upon their tender minds, that they are indebted for their existence to a great, good, and benevolent Spirit, who not only has given them life, but has ordained them for certain great purposes. That he has given them a fertile extensive country, well stocked with game of every kind for their subsistence; and that by one of his inferior spirits he has also sent down to them from above, corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans and other vegetables for their nourishment; all which blessings their ancestors have enjoyed for a great number of ages. That this great Spirit looks down upon the Indians, to see whether they are grateful to him and make him a due return for the many benefits he has bestowed, and therefore that it is their duty to show their thankfulness by worshipping him, and doing that which is pleasing in his sight.

“ This is in substance the first lesson taught, and from time to time repeated to the Indian children, which naturally leads them to reflect and gradually to understand that a Being which hath done such great things for them, and all to make them happy, must be good indeed, and that it is surely their duty to do something that will please him. They are then told that their ancestors, who received all this from the hands of the great Spirit, and lived in the enjoyment of it, must have been informed of what would be most pleasing to this good Being, and of the manner in which his favour could be most surely obtained, and they are directed to look up for instruction to

those who know all this, to learn from them, and revere them for their wisdom and the knowledge which they possess; this creates in the children a strong sentiment of respect for their elders, and a desire to follow their advice and example. Their young ambition is then excited by telling them that they were made the superiors of all other creatures, and are to have power over them; great pains are taken to make this feeling take an early root, and it becomes, in fact, their ruling passion through life; for no pains are spared to instil into them, that by following the advice of the most admired and extolled hunter, trapper, or warrior, they will at a future day acquire a degree of fame and reputation, equal to that which he possesses; that by submitting to the counsels of the aged, the chiefs, the men superior in wisdom, they may also rise to glory, and be called *Wise men*, an honourable title, to which no Indian is indifferent. They are finally told that if they respect the aged and infirm, and are kind and obliging to them, they will be treated in the same manner when their turn comes to feel the infirmities of old age.

“ When this first and most important lesson is thought to be sufficiently impressed upon children’s minds, the parents next proceed to make them sensible of the distinction between good and evil; they tell them that there are good actions and bad actions, both equally open to them to do or commit; that good acts are pleasing to the good Spirit which gave them their existence, and that on the contrary, all that is bad proceeds from the bad spirit who has

given them nothing, and who cannot give them any thing that is good, because he has it not, and therefore he envies them that which they have received from the good Spirit, who is far superior to the bad one.

“ This introductory lesson, if it may be so called, naturally makes them wish to know what is good and what is bad. This the parent teaches them in his own way; that is to say, in the way in which he was himself taught by his own parents. It is not the lesson of an hour nor of a day, it is rather a long course more of practical than of theoretical instruction; a lesson, which is not repeated at stated seasons or times, but which is shewn, pointed out, and demonstrated to the child, not only by those under whose immediate guardianship he is, but by the whole community, who consider themselves alike interested in the direction to be given to the rising generation.

“ When this instruction is given in the form of precepts, it must not be supposed that it is done in an authoritative or forbidding tone, but, on the contrary, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner: nor is the parent's authority ever supported by harsh or compulsive means; no whips, no punishments, no threats are ever used to enforce commands or compel obedience. The child's *pride* is the feeling to which an appeal is made, which proves successful in almost every instance. A father needs only to say in the presence of his children ‘ I want such ‘ a thing done; I want one of my children to go

‘upon such an errand; let me see who is the *good* child that will do it!’ This word *good* operates, as it were, by magic, and the children immediately vie with each other to comply with the wishes of their parent. If a father sees an old decrepit man or woman pass by, led along by a child, he will draw the attention of his own children to the object by saying, ‘What a *good* child that must be, which pays such attention to the aged! That child, indeed, looks forward to the time when it will likewise be old!’ or he will say, ‘May the great Spirit, who looks upon him, grant this *good* child a long life!’

“In this manner of bringing up children, the parents, as I have already said, are seconded by the whole community. If a child is sent from his father’s dwelling to carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim, what! has the *Tortoise*, or the *Little Bear*, (as the father’s name may be) got such a *good* child?’ If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepit person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be. And so, in most instances, this method is resorted to, for the purpose of instructing children in things that are good, proper, or honourable in themselves; while, on the other hand, when a child has committed a *bad* act, the parent will say

to him, 'O! how grieved I am that my child has 'done this *bad* act! I hope he will never do so 'again.' This is generally effectual, particularly if said in the presence of others. The whole of the Indian plan of education tends to elevate rather than depress the mind, and by that means to make determined hunters and fearless warriors.

"Thus, when a lad has killed his first game, such as a deer or a bear, parents who have boys growing up will not fail to say to some person in the presence of their own children, 'That boy must have listened 'attentively to the aged hunters, for, though so 'young, he has already given a proof that he will 'become a good hunter himself.' If, on the other hand, a young man should fail of giving such a proof, it will be said of him 'that he did not pay attention 'to the discourses of the aged.'

"In this indirect manner is instruction on all subjects given to the young people. They are to learn the arts of hunting, trapping, and making war, by listening to the aged when conversing together on those subjects; each in his turn relating how he acted; and opportunities are afforded to them for that purpose. By this mode of instructing youth, their respect for the aged is kept alive, and it is increased by the reflection that the same respect will be paid to them at a future day, when young persons will be attentive to what they shall relate.

"This method of conveying instruction is, I believe, common to most Indian nations; it is so, at least, amongst all those that I have become ac-

quainted with, and lays the foundation for that voluntary submission to their chiefs, for which they are so remarkable. Thus has been maintained for ages, without convulsions and without civil discords, this traditional government, of which the world, perhaps, does not offer another example; a government in which there are no positive laws, but only long established habits and customs; no code of jurisprudence, but the experience of former times; no magistrates, but advisers, to whom the people, nevertheless, pay a willing and implicit obedience, in which age confers rank, wisdom gives power, and moral goodness secures a title to universal respect. All this seems to be effected by the simple means of an excellent mode of education, by which a strong attachment to ancient customs, respect for age, and the love of virtue are indelibly impressed upon the minds of youth, so that these impressions acquire strength as time pursues its course, and as they pass through successive generations."

CHAPTER VII.

SENSIBILITY—GRATITUDE—CRUEL CONDUCT EXERCISED TOWARDS THE INDIANS.

IN passing down the St. Lawrence in the summer of 1819, I stopped my batteaux at a tavern where I purposed to remain all night. Two squaws were there with a basket of wild strawberries for sale, and I directed the mistress of the tavern to purchase some that I might have them with cream for my supper. It was soon, however, to be perceived by the conversation in bargaining, that my landlady and the Indian women could not come to terms. There seemed to be much harshness in the manner of the former ; but the replies of the latter were so meek, and their demeanour so submissive, that had I been making the bargain under the impression of my feelings, few words would have been necessary. The christian purchaser, however, continued so extortionate in her demands, that the poor disappointed heathens turned away from her. Truly unreasonable indeed must the lady have been, for there was neither village, nor other house near likely to afford a market for the poor Indian hawkers, who it seemed had come to this very tavern with the hope of selling their fruit. Under this impression I followed the poor women, put half a dollar into the hands of one of them, and hastily passed on, while they gazed at me with astonishment at so unexpected a *largess*,

for so it appeared to them. On my return from a walk along the river, I was surprised to see the two squaws standing at the corner of the house patiently waiting for me; when, with eyes sparkling with emotions which I could not misunderstand, but which I am incapable of portraying, they presented me with a bowl top-full of picked strawberries, which I rejected at first, being desirous of convincing them there were some, if not many, white men who felt kindly towards them. But their expression of entreaty was so vehement, their importunity so great, that I felt it necessary to their happiness to accept their present, for they had no other way of shewing their gratitude. This humble offering furnished my supper, and sweet indeed would my meal have been, had not commiseration for the wrongs of these sorely abused, persecuted, forlorn, and abandoned people, mingled with my enjoyment. I am so fully impressed with their undeserved misery, and with the nobleness of their character, that I should esteem the devotion of my life in their cause the most honourable way in which it could be devoted; but alas, years and circumstances prevent my doing more than making this feeble effort to rouse the energies of youthful talent in their behalf; and as benevolence pervades the youthful mind more powerfully than that of the aged, I am not without a hope that thousands will yet start up to advocate the cause of the Red Indians, and prosecute measures for the amelioration of their state.

The above instance of want of charity, nay, of

common decency on the part of white people in their intercourse with the Indians, is not by any means of rare occurrence. My reader will already have seen the complaints and pathetic appeals to justice which the poor children of the wilderness are so frequently compelled, by the treachery of their civilized neighbours, to make; and I am sorry to add another specimen to the long list of these atrocious outrages, which, in large and petty aggressions, is daily swelling and becoming more and more enormous. In passing, on the very day I have just adverted to, through the thousand islands, one of the boatmen who were rowing me, hallooed to a canoe in which some Indians were fishing, who immediately came towards us, and a barter commenced between them and the boatmen. The boatmen held up a piece of cold pork and a loaf, for which they were to receive fish. The poor young Indians, (for the eldest was not above fourteen, and there were two little girls younger) shewed what fish they would give; yet warily kept at a distance, fearing what in spite of their precaution, actually took place. The boatmen struck suddenly at the canoe with their oars, and in the confusion which this attack caused, grasped the fish; the bread and pork they at first offered were, I need hardly say, withheld. Having achieved this noble enterprise they shouted and assailed the unresisting and defenceless children (who paddled off evidently fearful of further outrage,) with taunts and mockery. These men were Canadians; there were four of them; and I had no other means of punishing

them on this occasion than by withholding the usual pecuniary fee. I was in some measure at their mercy; but though compelled to be a calm spectator of so dastardly a theft, I confess I was still more incensed at seeing how heartily some inhabitants of Canada, who were my fellow-passengers, seemed to enjoy the joke. The fact is, the Indians are esteemed lawful prey. Such is the feeling of thousands of men called christians, who boast of civilization, but who derive their subsistence by intercourse with the Indians; and however just many in the United States are, and however careful the British government is to guard the rights of the red men, yet as this guardianship is chiefly committed to those who are partakers in the spoils of the Indians, the care, instead of being wise and benign, is rather to debauch their untutored minds by the introduction of spirits among them. Every cup to them is indeed "unblessed, and the ingredient is a devil!" Gradually, therefore, are they diminishing, and receding from the haunts of what we term *civilization*! That this charge does not apply to all, and rarely to the *heads* of these departments, I rejoice to admit; but still those heads of departments are responsible for all the acts of their subordinate agents, and should exercise a vigilant superintendence, impartially punishing any, the least, infringement of their regulations. No man should be connected with the Indian department who is directly or indirectly interested in trade with the Indians.

I will not declaim on this subject, but let the following facts, derived from Mr. Heckewelder's account, speak for themselves.

“ In the summer of the year 1763, some friendly Indians from a distant place, came to Bethlehem to dispose of their peltry for manufactured goods and necessary implements of husbandry. Returning home well satisfied, they put up the first night at a tavern, eight miles distant. * The landlord not being at home, his wife took the liberty of encouraging the people who frequented her house for the sake of drinking, to abuse those Indians, adding, that she would freely give a gallon of rum to any one of them that should kill one of those black devils. Other white people from the neighbourhood came in during the night, who also drank freely, made a great deal of noise, and increased the fears of those poor Indians, who, for the greatest part, understanding English, could not but suspect that something bad was intended against their persons. They were not, however, otherwise disturbed ; but in the morning, when, after a restless night they were preparing to set off, they found themselves robbed of some of the most valuable articles they had purchased, and on mentioning this to a man who appeared to be the bar-keeper, they were ordered to leave the house. Not being willing to lose so much property, they retired to some distance into the woods, where, some of them remaining with what was left them, the others returned to Bethlehem and lodged their complaint with a justice of the peace. The magistrate gave them a letter to

* This relation is authentic ; I have received it, says Mr. Heckewelder, from the mouth of the chief of the injured party, and his statement was confirmed by communications made at the time by two respectable magistrates of the county.

the landlord, pressing him without delay to restore to the Indians the goods that had been taken from them. But behold ! when they delivered that letter to the people at the inn they were told in answer, ‘ that if they set any value on their lives, they must ‘ make off with themselves immediately.’ They well understood that they had no other alternative, and prudently departed without having received back any of their goods. Arrived at Nescopeck on the Susquehannah, they fell in with some other Delawares, who had been treated much in the same manner, one of them having had his rifle stolen from him. Here the two parties agreed to take revenge in their own way, for those insults and robberies for which they could obtain no redress ; and that they determined to do as soon as war should be again declared by their nation against the English.

“ Scarcely had these Indians retired, when in another place, about fourteen miles distant from the former, one man, two women and a child, all quiet Indians, were murdered in a most wicked and barbarous manner, by drunken militia officers and their men, for the purpose of getting their horse and the goods they had just purchased*. One of the women, falling on her knees, begged in vain for the life of herself and her child, while the other woman seeing what was doing, made her escape to the barn, where she endeavoured to hide herself on the top of the grain. She however was discovered, and inhumanly

* Justice Geiger’s letter to Justice Horsefield proves this fact.

thrown down on the thrashing floor with such force that her brains flew out.

“ Here, then, were insults, robberies and murders, all committed within the short space of three months, unatoned for and unrevenged. There was no prospect of obtaining redress; the survivors were therefore obliged to seek some other means to obtain revenge. They did so; the Indians, already exasperated against the English in consequence of repeated outrages, and considering the nation as responsible for the injuries which it did neither prevent nor punish, and for which it did not even offer to make any kind of reparation, at last declared war, and then the injured parties were at liberty to redress themselves for the wrongs they had suffered. They immediately started against the objects of their hatred, and finding their way unseen and undiscovered, to the inn which had been the scene of the first outrage, they attacked it at day-break, fired into it on the people within who were lying on their beds. Strange to relate! the murderers of the man, two women, and child, were among them. They were mortally wounded, and died of their wounds shortly afterwards. The Indians, after leaving this house, murdered by accident an innocent family, having mistaken the house that they meant to attack, after which they returned to their homes.

“ Now a violent hue and cry was raised against the Indians—no language was too bad, no crimes too black to brand them with. No faith was to be placed in those savages; treaties with them were of no

effect; they ought to be cut off from the face of the earth! Such was the language at that time in every body's mouth; the newspapers were filled with accounts of the cruelties of the Indians; a variety of false reports were circulated in order to rouse the people against them; while they, the really injured party, *having no printing presses among them, could not make known the story of their grievances.*

“ ‘ No faith can be placed in what the Indians promise at treaties; for scarcely is a treaty concluded ‘ than they are again murdering us.’ Such is our complaint against these unfortunate people; but they will tell you that it is the white men in whom no faith is to be placed. They will tell you, that there is not a single instance in which the whites have not violated the engagements that they had made at treaties. They say that when they had ceded lands to the white people, and boundary lines had been established — ‘ firmly established!’ beyond which no whites were to settle; scarcely was the treaty signed, when white intruders again were settling and hunting on their lands! It is true that when they preferred their complaints to the government, the government gave them many fair promises and assured them that men would be sent to remove the intruders by force from the usurped lands. The men, indeed, came, but with chain and compass in their hands, taking surveys of the tracts of good land, which the intruders, from their knowledge of the country, had pointed out to them!

“ What was then to be done, when those intruders

would not go off from the land, but, on the contrary, increased in numbers? ‘Oh!’ said those people, (and I have myself frequently heard this language in the Western country,) ‘a new treaty will soon give us all this land; nothing is now wanting but a pretence to pick a quarrel with them!’ Well, but in what manner is this quarrel to be brought about? A *David Owen*, a *Walker*, and many others, might, if they were alive, easily answer this question. A precedent, however, may be found, on perusing Mr. Jefferson’s Appendix to his Notes on Virginia. On all occasions, when the object is to murder Indians, strong liquor is the main article required; for when you have them dead drunk, you may do to them as you please, without running the risk of losing your life. And should you find that the laws of your country may reach you where you are, you have only to escape or conceal yourself for awhile until the storm has blown over! I well recollect the time when thieves and murderers of Indians fled from impending punishment across the Susquehannah where they considered themselves safe; on which account this river had the name given to it of ‘*the rogues’ river*.’ I have heard other rivers called by similar names.

“ In the year 1742, the Reverend Mr. Whitefield offered the Nazareth Manor (as it was then called) for sale to the United Brethren. He had already begun to build upon it a spacious stone house, intended as a school-house for the education of Indian children. The Indians, in the meanwhile, loudly exclaimed

against the white people for settling in this part of the country, which had not yet been legally purchased of them, but, as they said, had been obtained by fraud.* The Brethren declined purchasing any lands on which the Indian title had not been properly extinguished, wishing to live in peace with all the Indians around them. Count Zinzendorff happened at that time to arrive in the country; he found that the agents of the proprietors would not pay to the Indians the price which they asked for that tract of land; he paid them out of his private purse the whole of the demand which they made in the height of their ill temper, and moreover gave them permission to abide on the land, at their village, (where, by the by, they had a fine large peach orchard,) as long as they should think proper. But among those white men, who afterwards came and settled in the neighbourhood of their tract, there were some who were enemies to the Indians; and a young Irishman, without cause or provocation, murdered their good and highly respected chief, *Tademi*, a man of such an easy and friendly address, that he could not but be loved by all who knew him. This, together with the threats of other persons ill disposed towards them, was the cause of their leaving their settlement on this manor, and removing to places of greater safety.

“ It is true, that when flagrant cases of this description occurred, the government, before the revo-

* Alluding to what was at that time known by the name of the *long day's walk*.

lution, issued proclamations offering rewards for apprehending the offenders; and in later times, since the country has become more thickly settled, those who had been guilty of such offences were brought before the tribunals to take their trials. But these formalities have proved of little avail. In the first case, the criminals were seldom, if ever, apprehended; in the second, no jury could be found to convict them; for it was no uncommon saying among many of the men of whom juries in the frontier countries were commonly composed, that no man should be put to death for killing an Indian; for it was the same thing as killing a wild beast!

“ In the course of the revolutionary war, in which (as in all civil commotions) brother was seen fighting against brother, and friend against friend, a party of Indian warriors, with whom one of those white men, who, under colour of attachment to their king, indulged in every sort of crimes, was going out against the settlers on the Ohio, to kill and destroy as they had been ordered. The chief of the expedition had given strict orders not to molest any of the white men who lived with their friends the Christian Indians; yet, as they passed near a settlement of these converts, the white man, unmindful of the orders he had received, attempted to shoot two of the Missionaries who were planting potatoes in their field, and though the captain warned him to desist, he still obstinately persisted in his attempt. The chief, in anger, immediately took his gun from him, and kept him under guard until they had reached a consider-

able distance from the place. I have received this account from the chief himself, who on his return sent word to the Missionaries that they would do well not to go far from home as they were in too great danger from the *white people*.

“ Another white man of the same description, whom I well knew, related with a kind of barbarous exultation, on his return to Detroit from a war excursion with the Indians in which he had been engaged, that the party with which he was, having taken a woman prisoner who had a sucking babe at her breast, he tried to persuade the Indians to kill the child, lest its cries should discover the place where they were; the Indians were unwilling to commit the deed, on which the white man at once jumped up, tore the child from its mother’s arms, and taking it by the legs dashed its head against a tree, so that the brains flew out all around. The monster in relating this story said, ‘ The little dog all the ‘ time was making *wee!*’ He added, that if he were sure that his old father, who some time before had died in Old Virginia, would, if he had lived longer, have turned rebel, he would go all the way into Virginia, raise the body, and take off his scalp!

“ Let us now contrast with this the conduct of the Indians. Carver tells us in his travels with what moderation, humanity and delicacy they treat female prisoners, and particularly pregnant women*. I refer the reader to the following fact, as an instance

* Carver’s Travels, ch. 9. p. 196.

of their conduct in such cases. If his admiration is excited by the behaviour of the Indians, I doubt not that his indignation will be raised in an equal degree by that of a white man who unfortunately acts a part in the story.

“ A party of Delawares, in one of their excursions during the revolutionary war, took a white female prisoner. The Indian chief, after a march of several days, observed that she was ailing, and was soon convinced (for she was far advanced in her pregnancy) that the time of her delivery was near. He immediately made a halt on the bank of a stream, where, *at a proper distance from the encampment*, he built for her a close hut of peeled barks, gathered dry grass and fern to make her a bed, and placed a blanket at the opening of the dwelling as a substitute for a door. He then kindled a fire, placed a pile of wood near it to feed it occasionally, and placed a kettle of water at hand where she might easily use it. He then took her into her little infirmary, gave her Indian medicines, with directions how to use them, and told her to rest easy, and she might be sure that nothing should disturb her. Having done this, he returned to his men, forbade them from making any noise, or disturbing the sick woman in any manner, and told them that he himself should guard her during the night. He did so ; and the whole night kept watch before her door, walking backward and forward, to be ready at her call at any moment, in case of extreme necessity. The night passed quietly ; but in the morning, as he was walking by

on the bank of the stream, seeing him through the crevices, she called to him and presented her babe. The good chief, with tears in his eyes, rejoiced at her safe delivery ; he told her not to be uneasy, that he should lay by for a few days and would soon bring her some nourishing food, and some medicines to take. Then going to his encampment, he ordered all his men to go out a hunting, and remained himself to guard the camp."

Forgive me, reader, if, for a moment, I disturb the order of my extract. There is nothing that I know within the whole scope of anecdotal history more affecting than the present narration. How exalted was the humanity of this Indian Chief ! how refined his delicacy ! how watchful and tender his care !—The pathos, though deep, is sweet ; and Mr. Heckewelder has communicated the story in a style of feeling and simplicity worthy of it. He has made us witnesses of the transaction. We see, through the darkness of the night, the swarthy warrior walking anxiously backward and forward before the hut of bark,—the " little infirmary " of the labouring woman. The morning comes ; and in the pale dawn behold ! the poor creature pointing, in a state of utter exhaustion, to her babe, delivered in the wilderness—in night and solitude ! Yet was she not entirely without support ; for, over and above the secret aid which came to her pangs from high, see ! she meets with sympathy in a wild man, a stranger, a warrior ; who melts into tears at the sight ! My heart, too, swells as I read. Bear with me—we will resume our extract.

“ Now for the reverse of the picture. Among the men whom this chief had under his command, was one of those white vagabonds whom I have before described. The captain was much afraid of him, knowing him to be a bad man ; and as he had expressed a great desire to go a hunting with the rest, he believed him gone, and entertained no fears for the woman’s safety. But it was not long before he was undeceived. While he was gone to a small distance to dig roots for his poor patient, he heard her cries, and running with speed to her hut, he was informed by her that the white man had threatened to take her life if she did not immediately throw her child into the river. The captain, enraged at the cruelty of this man, and the liberty he had taken with his prisoner, hailed him as he was running off, and told him ‘ That the moment he should miss the child, the ‘ tomahawk should be in his head.’ After a few days this humane chief placed the woman carefully on a horse, and they went together to the place of their destination, the mother and child doing well. I have heard him relate this story, to which he added, that whenever he should go out on an excursion, he never would suffer a white man to be of his party.

“ Yet I must acknowledge that I have known an Indian chief who had been guilty of the crime of killing the child of a female prisoner. His name was Glikhican. In the year 1770, he joined the congregation of the Christian Indians ; the details of his conversion are related at large by Loskiel in his History of the Mis-

sions*. Before that time he had been conspicuous as a warrior and a counsellor, and in oratory it is said he never was surpassed. This man, having joined the French in the year 1754 or 1755, in their war against the English, and being at that time out with a party of Frenchmen, took among other prisoners, a young woman, named *Rachel Abbott*, from the Conegocheague settlement, who had at her breast a sucking babe. The incessant cries of the child, the hurry to get off, but above all, the persuasions of his *white* companions, induced him, much against his inclination, to kill the innocent creature; while the mother, in an agony of grief, and her face suffused with tears, begged that its life might be spared. The woman, however, was brought safe to the Ohio, where she was kindly treated and adopted, and some years afterwards was married to a Delaware chief of respectability, by whom she had several children, who are now living with the Christian Indians in Upper Canada.

“ Glikhican never forgave himself for having committed this crime, although many times, and long before his becoming a Christian, he had begged the woman’s pardon with tears in his eyes, and received her free and full forgiveness. In vain she pointed out to him all the circumstances that he could have alleged to excuse the deed; in vain she reminded him of his unwillingness at the time, and his having been in a manner compelled to it by his French asso-

* Loskiel, p. 3. ch. 3.

ciates ; nothing that she did say could assuage his sorrow or quiet the perturbation of his mind ; he called himself a wretch, a monster, a *coward* (the proud feelings of an Indian must be well understood to judge of the force of this self-accusation), and to the moment of his death the remembrance of this fatal act preyed like a canker-worm upon his spirits. I ought to add, that from the time of his conversion he lived the life of a Christian, and died as such.

“ The Indians are cruel to their enemies !—In some cases they are, but perhaps not more so than white men have sometimes shewn themselves. There have been instances of white men flaying or taking off the skin of Indians who had fallen into their hands, then tanning those skins or cutting them in pieces, making them up into razor-straps, and exposing those for sale, as was done at or near Pittsburg sometime during the revolutionary war. Those things are abominations in the eyes of the Indians, who, indeed, when strongly excited, inflict torments on their prisoners and put them to death by cruel tortures, but never are guilty of acts of barbarity in cold blood. Neither do the Delawares and some other Indian nations, ever on any account disturb the ashes of the dead.

“ The custom of torturing prisoners is of ancient date, and was first introduced as a trial of courage. I have been told, however, that among some tribes it has never been in use ; but it must be added that those tribes gave no quarter. The Delawares accuse the Iroquois of having been the inventors of this

piece of cruelty, and charge them further with eating the flesh of their prisoners after the torture was over. Be this as it may, there are now but few instances of prisoners being put to death in this manner.

“ Rare as these barbarous executions now are, I have reason to believe that they would be still less frequent, if proper pains were taken to turn the Indians away from this heathenish custom. Instead of this, it is but too true that they have been excited to cruelty by unprincipled white men, who have joined in their war-feasts and even added to the barbarity of the scene. Can there be a more brutal act than, after furnishing those savages, as they are called, with implements of war and destruction, to give them an ox to kill and to roast whole, to dance the war dance with them round the slaughtered animal, strike at him, stab him, telling the Indians at the same time, ‘ Strike, stab! thus you must do to ‘ your enemy!’ Then taking a piece of the meat and tearing it with their teeth, ‘ So you must eat ‘ his flesh!’ and sucking up the juices, ‘ Thus you ‘ must drink his blood;’ and at last devour the whole as wolves do a carcass. This is what is known to have been done by some of those Indian agents that I have mentioned.

“ Is this possible? the reader will naturally exclaim. Yes, it is possible, and every Indian warrior will tell you that it is true. It has come to me from so many credible sources that *I am forced* to believe it. How can the Indians now be reproached with acts of cruelty to which they have been excited

by those who pretended to be Christians and civilized men, but who were worse savages than those whom, no doubt, they were ready to brand with that name.

“ When hostile governments give directions to employ the Indians against their enemies, they surely do not know that such is the manner in which their orders are to be executed ; but let me tell them and every government who will descend to employing these auxiliaries, that this is the only way in which their subaltern agents will and can proceed to make their aid effectual. The Indians are not fond of interfering in quarrels not their own, and will not fight with spirit for the mere sake of a livelihood which they can obtain in a more agreeable manner by hunting and their other ordinary occupations. Their passions must be excited, and that is not easily done when they themselves have not received any injury from those against whom they are desired to fight. Behold, then, the abominable course which must unavoidably be resorted to—to induce them to do what?—to lay waste the dwelling of the peaceable cultivator of the land, and to murder his innocent wife and his helpless children ! I cannot pursue this subject further, although I am far from having exhausted it. I have said enough to enable the impartial reader to decide which of the two classes of men, the Indians and the whites, are most justly entitled to the epithets of brutes, barbarians, and savages. It is not for me to anticipate his decision*.”

* See Heckewelder, chap. 44.

CHAPTER VIII.

VANITY AS TO DRESS, AND OTHER PERSONAL
DECORATION.

THE warriors and chiefs are distinguished by their ornaments. The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts and leggings for the men, and cloth petticoats for the women, generally red, blue, or black. The blankets are sometimes made of feathers. This manufacture requires great patience, being a very tedious kind of work; yet the Indians do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers (generally those of the turkey and goose) are curiously arranged and interwoven together with a sort of thread or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle. The wealthy adorn themselves with ribands or gartering of various colours, beads, and silver broaches. They wear, moreover, broad rings or bands on their arms, fingers, and round their hats; these ornaments are highly valued if of silver, but if only plated they are despised, and would hardly be worn. I have seen in young children, three rings in each ear. These decorations are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men consist in the painting of themselves (their head and face principally), wearing gaudy garments, with silver arm spangles and

breast-plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blanket with choice ribands of various colours, or with gartering, on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner; their mocksens are neatly embroidered with coloured porcupine quills, and are besides, almost entirely covered with various trinkets; they have also a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed round their ankles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise, which is heard at some distance; this is intended to draw the attention of those who pass by, that they may look at, and admire them.

The women make use of vermilion in painting themselves for dances; but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes.

The following diverting anecdote is told by my old friend the Moravian missionary :--

“ As I was once resting in my travels at the house of a trader who lived at some distance from an Indian town, I went in the morning to visit an Indian acquaintance and friend of mine. I found him engaged in plucking out his beard, preparatory to painting himself for a dance which was to take place the ensuing evening. Having finished his head-dress, about an hour before sunset, he came up, as he said, to

see me, but I and my companions judged that he came *to be seen*. To my utter astonishment, I saw three different paintings or figures on one and the same face. He had, by his great ingenuity and judgment in laying on and shading the different colours, made his nose appear, when we stood directly in front of him, as if it were very long and narrow, with a round nob at the end, much like the upper part of a pair of tongs. On one cheek there was a red round spot, about the size of an apple, and the other was done in the same manner with black. The eye-lids, both the upper and lower ones, were reversed in the colouring. When we viewed him in profile on one side, his nose represented the beak of an eagle, with the bill rounded and brought to a point, precisely as those birds have it, though the mouth was somewhat open. The eye was astonishingly well done, and the head, upon the whole, appeared tolerably well, shewing a great deal of fierceness. When we turned round to the other side, the same nose now resembled the snout of a pike, with the mouth so open, that the teeth could be seen. He seemed much pleased with his execution; and having his looking-glass with him he contemplated his work, seemingly with great pride and exultation. He asked me how I liked it? I answered that if he had done the work on a piece of board, bark, or any thing else, I should like it very well, and often look at it. ‘But,’ asked he, ‘why not so as it is?’ ‘Because,’ said I, ‘I cannot see the face that is hidden under these colours, so as to

know who it is.' 'Well,' he replied, 'I must go now; and as you cannot know me to-day, I will call to-morrow morning before you leave this place.' He did so, and when he came back, he was washed clean again."

When the men paint their thighs, legs, and breast, they generally, after laying on a thin shading coat of a darkish colour, and sometimes of a whitish clay, dip their fingers' ends in black or red paint, and then spreading them out, bring the streaks to a serpentine form.

The notion formerly entertained that the Indians are beardless by nature, and have no hair on their bodies, is now entirely exploded. It is scarcely possible, indeed, for any person to pass a few weeks only among these people, without seeing them pluck out their beards with tweezers made expressly for that purpose. They perform the operation in a very quick manner, much like the plucking of a fowl; and the oftener it is done, the finer the hair grows, till at last the roots are so destroyed, that little or no hair appears left. The reasons they give for thus deracinating their hair, are that they may have a clean skin to lay the paint on, when they dress for their festivals or dances, and to facilitate the *tattooing* themselves; a custom formerly much in vogue among them, especially with those who had acquired celebrity by their valour. They say that either painting or tattooing on a hairy face or body would have a disgusting appearance.

Tattooing is now greatly discontinued. The pro-

cess is quickly done, and does not seem to give much pain. They have poplar-bark in readiness, burnt and reduced to a powder; the figures that are to be tattooed are marked or designed on the skin; the operator, with a small stick, rather larger than a common match (to the end of which some sharp needles are fastened) quickly pricks over the whole so that blood is drawn; then a coat of the above powder is laid and left on to dry.

I was travelling in the United States, near Lake Erie, accompanied by a gentleman who, like myself, was a stranger in the country; and after riding several miles through the woods in great suspense, as scarcely any track was discernible, we at length arrived at an Indian hut. Night was now approaching, and we determined to return; but, observing through the trees a number of Indians coming towards us, we changed our purpose, lest our going off might have been considered an indication of fear, a thing they are very apt to resent. We, therefore, spurred our horses forward, and proceeded towards several well-constructed framed houses, near one of which stood two Indian men. Having alighted, we fastened our horses to the railing that enclosed a small garden, and accosted the men with assumed confidence, though not altogether without fear, for as they were living within the States, it occurred to our minds that they might not be friendly if they perceived we were British. These men were engaged sharpening an axe at a grindstone. When the Indian who turned the stone, discovered he was looked at, he immediately changed hands at his

work, and with secret pride, but affected carelessness, extended the little finger of the hand now employed, on which we could not avoid seeing a large silver ring. No sweet clergyman, in odour with the ladies, could have better displayed a jewel over the edge of his pulpit,—no spruce physician, conscious of his brilliants, while feeling his patient's pulse; or dandy, taking a pinch of snuff with an eye to the exhibition of his trinkets, could have done the thing with a finer air than our Indian. This high mark of civilization, I must confess, inspired me with courage. I went past them to the house, into which we entered without ceremony, though the door was shut. We there found a young squaw who took little notice of us. The house was a framed one, well boarded outside, and lined and floored with the same material within. It was about twenty feet square, and ten high. In the side there was a loft, which seemed to be used as a kind of store-house for cobb's, or heads of Indian corn, wool, &c. There were two bedsteads with blankets and covers of striped woollen and linen, a small table, and some rude chairs. On each side the fire stood a hollow trunk of a tree, about two feet ten inches high, in the bottom of each of which were a hard stone, and a large wooden poulder or pestle for bruising Indian corn. There were, moreover, some pots, pans, wooden plates and dishes, a churn for milk, and pails for milking, scooped out of the solid tree. Few cabins in Ireland surpassed the one I am describing; and very few indeed, I grieve to say, equal it. Other buildings, still more com-

modious, appeared at a distance; but as night was gaining upon us, and we had still seven miles through the woods to go, we hurried away from the interesting scene. On our road we met two squaws, each riding a very good horse. Upon seeing us, they imitated the polished airs of the most refined people; holding themselves more erect, reining in their steeds, and looking at us with real modesty of manner. As soon as they passed they dashed forward with laughter, being highly amused at the astonishment apparent in us.

My own observations have convinced me that many of the feelings and acquirements which in the most fashionable constitute the surest marks of civilization, are to be found abundantly among the Indians. The men are fond of war and religion, of hunting, fishing, and feasting; averse to labour, and impatient of control. Does this prove them savages? The women affect dress and distinction; are dotingly fond of their children, whose wants, together with the wants of their husbands, they labour to supply. They are also warmly attached to their kindred and tribe. As some of these characteristics are not to be found in civilized life, the women may, for ought I know, bear some mark of savages. But with such inherent qualities, what might not these tribes become, both men and women?

Another trait of the Indian character is that they are kind and merciful masters to their horses; and cattle of every description are well fed, and kept in good condition by them.

CHAPTER IX.

ATTEMPTS RECENTLY MADE TO LEAD THE INDIAN TRIBES TO ADMIT TEACHERS OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THEM; WITH OBSERVATIONS THEREON, AND HINTS TO MISSIONARIES.

SEVERAL scattered tribes, in various parts of the United States, and in Upper and Lower Canada, have nominally embraced Christianity as professed by the Roman Catholics and other sects; and recent efforts have been made by Missionary Societies to forward among all the nations a willingness to admit teachers to instruct them in the Christian profession. A grand council of the Indians of many scattered and distant tribes, was to be held in the autumn or fall of 1819, for the purpose of deliberating and deciding whether these religious teachers were or were not to be allowed a footing among them. I happened at the time to be in the neighbourhood of their assembling, (not far distant from Buffalo); but finding that the subject would occupy many days, perhaps weeks, and that the discussions would be held among themselves, and in their own languages, I was prevented from attending the council. I availed myself, however, of every opportunity of getting at the turning point of this important subject. On my journey from Buffalo towards Canada, I met an Indian Chief proceeding to the council fire to enter upon the above delibera-

tion. He had an excellent horse, saddle, and bridle; his rifle-pistols, tomahawk, and blanket were slung on his horse; the scalping knife and pipe were attached to his person. The *tout-ensemble* of his dress was finery itself. He had silver clasps on his arms, long peacock-feathers in his cap, and conspicuous above all, was a large silver cross, about eighteen inches long, suspended by a string of wampum round his neck. This indicated that he was a champion of Christianity. He had alighted from his horse, and was leaning against a rail fence, but in so beastly a state of drunkenness, that although he made many efforts to remount, he was unable, while I continued to observe him, to accomplish it. The very stirrup seemed to baffle him, and swing away from his foot: like another ecclesiastical adventurer (Hudibras),

“ ————— he had much ado

To reach it with his desperate toe.”

I would willingly have offered my aid to the chief, but fearing to give offence, I continued my journey, deeply mortified at what I had witnessed; yet I reflected that many champions of the cross had at all times gone forth like this poor besotted Indian; like him accompanied by arms and external decorations, and if not drunk with rum, intoxicated with the love of earthly distinctions, power, and dominion; and over all, the cross! as if that emblem could sanctify the warlike spirit and abomination that it covered.

In a few days afterwards, I was fortunate enough

to meet with an intelligent young Indian chief, from whom I learned many important particulars relative to the grand council meeting. It appeared that for many years the subject had been debated, and I was enabled to acquire from my young informant, a knowledge of the positions which the different parties took upon this important question. The favourers of Christianity alleged that the Great Spirit had ceased to regard them on account of their crimes, and had given them into the hands of the white men: that many years had gone over since the white men obtained a footing among them, and that while they (the Indians), were melting away from the face of the earth, the whites were every year increasing. This must evidently proceed from the determination of the Great Spirit, and it was wisdom, therefore, to yield to the religion of the Europeans, as the only means of avoiding the total destruction of their tribes; by doing so they would find more favour and security, not only from their father at Washington, but from their great father beyond the salt lake *. (For as this council was attended by chiefs from tribes in the United States, so also were many there from the British side.)

The opposers of the measure urged, in reply, that the Great Spirit was angry with the Indians but for a season, and had only given temporary power to white men to punish them. The Indians had in former times enjoyed many and great blessings, and

* The King of England.

should do so again. Why, therefore, ought they to depart from the worship of their fore-fathers, and follow the religion called Christian? As under the name of that religion, and from those who professed it, had they experienced all their wrongs and sufferings, and had arrived at their present wasted condition! Surely they should not embrace a faith that would tolerate such wickedness. What treaty had Christians kept with them? What just principles had they not violated? Had they not despoiled them of their lands, of their hunting grounds, of their lakes, and their mountains? Had they not slain their young men and their old warriors? Had they not taught them to act as beasts, yea, worse than the beasts of the forest, by the use of spirituous liquors? Did they not give rum to them to deceive and cheat them; to take from them their fields and their skins? And had they not derived loathsome diseases and other evils from those professing Christianity? Can the God of the Christians approve such acts?—"Away," concluded these reasoners, "with the religion and the name of Christian, why should we embrace it?"

I have thus embodied the outline of the controversy; and alas! how painful is it to admit that these objections are but too well founded. Nevertheless, the young Indian chief seemed to think that the majority will consent to receive Christianity. As this young man could read English very well, I endeavoured to point out to him that true Christianity no more countenanced oppression nor unjust

conduct than the Great Spirit did, from whom it came; and that what Jesus Christ taught and practised, was alone to be found in the New Testament, where his own words were recorded, and where the effects produced upon all who believed them, were to be seen. I told him that our Saviour denied those to be his people who acted unjustly to any: that his religion made no distinction between white and black men—between men of any name or nation under Heaven: that he who truly did unto his neighbour as he would be done by, was approved of Christ, while he who did wrong was condemned. All men were sinners; but the Lord Jesus, in his infinite compassion, came into the world to give his life a ransom for their offences. Such, therefore, as believed in his exceeding love and propitiation, and were led, by such belief, to forsake their sins, to love each other, to be at peace with all men, to perform the duties of life uprightly, to obey their parents, masters, and governors, and live piously with God in their hearts, were true Christians. I strongly endeavoured to impress on the mind of my young friend, that Christianity was not to be known by the professions made in the present day, which were nothing more than a system of opinions, arranged so as to acquire respect to a certain order of men, that they might the more easily grasp worldly power and wealth; whereas the religion of the Cross, as taught by Jesus and his Apostles, and as we have it set forth in the Scriptures, does not countenance a lust after secular honours or dominion,

but expressly forbids it to his followers ; merely requiring of them that they should yield honour where honour is due, and that their lives should be meek, holy, harmless, and undefiled ; not returning evil for evil, but good for evil.

The earnestness with which these observations were attended to by the young Indian, greatly interested me ; and how should I rejoice that Christianity should be exhibited to these simple people, by acts of benevolence, charity, and mercy, leaving the speculations and systems to the learned and refined. The Moravian missionaries set a laudable example in this respect, and the consequences have been that their labours have proved more successful than those of all other sects whatever. Preparation is necessary previous to the reception of any principles ; and in this way God was graciously pleased to act. The Jewish dispensation was the forerunner of the Gospel ; the Prophets, (and the last and greatest of them, John the Baptist,) were all sent to prepare the way for the appearance of the Saviour of men ; and when the Lord of life and glory came, he gradually initiated the minds of men to receive the full display of his mercy and his divine character. But now, forsooth, those who assume the name of Missionaries, or, in another word, that of Apostles, despise this mode, and at once open upon the poor mind of the heathen, the whole artillery of their college stores of doctrine and wisdom, forgetting that bodily wants and comforts must be established, before the mind can be fitted to receive instruction.

The glad tidings of salvation to poor sinners can be taught without books: it was so propagated at first: it is a plain statement of facts, easy to be recollected. We have several accounts of the manner of the original publication of the Gospel; especially in the 2nd, 10th, and 13th of "Acts." The things therein stated were what the early Christians believed; and in the mere belief of which they found joy and salvation; and such things the Indians are fully capable of bearing in their minds. Until we return to the simple teaching of the primitive apostles, and abandon our school-wisdom, success with the Indians cannot, I feel fully persuaded, be looked for with confidence.

That our endeavours hitherto, have indeed been worse than ineffectual, the following most important letter from an Indian chief to the governor of one of the United States, (New York) will abundantly shew.

LETTER FROM RED JACKET.

Canandaigua, 18th Jan. 1821.

"BROTHER PARRISH,

"I address myself to you, and through you to the governor.

"The chiefs of Onondaga have accompanied you to Albany, to do business with the governor; I also was to have been with you, but I am sorry to say that bad health has put it out of my power. For this you must not think hard of me. I am not to blame for it. It is the will of the Great Spirit that it should be so.

“ The object of the Onondagas is to purchase our lands at Tonnewanta. This, and all other business that they may have to do at Albany, must be transacted in the presence of the governor. He will see that the bargain is fairly made, so that all parties may have reason to be satisfied with what shall be done ; and when our sanction shall be wanted to the transaction it will be freely given.

“ I much regret that at this time the state of my health should have prevented me from accompanying you to Albany, as it was the wish of the nation that I should state to the governor some circumstances, which shew that the chain of friendship between us and the white people is wearing out and wants brightening.

“ I proceed now, however, to lay them before you by letter, that you may mention them to the governor, and solicit redress. He is appointed to do justice to all, and the Indians fully confide that he will not suffer them to be wronged with impunity.

“ The first subject to which we would call the attention of the governor, is the depredations that are daily committed by the white people upon the most valuable timber on our reservations. This has been a subject of complaint with us for many years ; but now, and particularly at this season of the year, it has become an alarming evil, and calls for the immediate interposition of the governor in our behalf.

“ Our next subject of complaint is, the frequent thefts of our horses and cattle by the white people, and their habit of taking and using them whenever

they please, and without our leave. These are evils which seem to increase upon us with the increase of our white neighbours, and they call loudly for redress.

“ Another evil arising from the pressure of the whites upon us, and our unavoidable communication with them, is the frequency with which our chiefs, and warriors, and Indians, are thrown into jail, and that too for the most trifling causes. This is very galling to our feelings, and ought not to be permitted to the extent to which, to gratify their bad passions, our white neighbours now carry this practice.

“ In our hunting and fishing too, we are greatly interrupted by the whites. Our venison is stolen from the trees, where we have hung it to be reclaimed after the chase. Our hunting camps have been fired into, and we have been warned that we shall no longer be permitted to pursue the deer in those forests which were so lately all our own. The fish, which in the Buffalo and Tonnewanta Creeks, used to supply us with food, are now, by the dams and other obstructions of the white people, prevented from multiplying, and we are almost entirely deprived of that accustomed sustenance.

“ Our Great Father, the president, has recommended to our young men to be industrious, to plough and to sow. This we have done, and we are thankful for the advice, and for the means he has afforded us of carrying it into effect. We are happier in consequence of it; *but another thing recommended to us, has created great confusion among us, and*

is making us a quarrelsome and divided people; and that is, the introduction of preachers into our nation. These black-coats contrive to get the consent of some of the Indians to preach among us, and wherever this is the case, confusion and disorder are sure to follow, and the encroachments of the whites upon our lands, are the invariable consequence. The governor must not think hard of me for speaking thus of the preachers; I have observed their progress, and when I look back to see what has taken place of old, I perceive that whenever they came among the Indians, they were the forerunners of their dispersion; that they always excited enmities and quarrels among them; that they introduced the white people on their lands, by whom they were robbed and plundered of their property; and that the Indians were sure to dwindle and decrease, and be driven back in proportion to the number of preachers that came among them.

“ Each nation has its own customs and its own religion. The Indians have theirs given to them by the Great Spirit, under which they were happy. It was not intended that they should embrace the religion of the whites, and be destroyed by the attempt to make them think differently on that subject from their fathers.

“ It is true these preachers have got the consent of some of the chiefs to stay and preach among us, but I and my friends know this to be wrong, and that they ought to be removed; besides we have been threatened by Mr. Hyde, who came among us as a

school-master and a teacher of our children, but has now become a black-coat, and refused to teach them any more, that unless we listen to his preaching and become christians, we will be turned off our lands. We wish to know from the governor if this is to be so, and if he has no right to say so, we think *he* ought to be turned off our lands, and not allowed to plague us any more. We shall never be at peace while he is among us.

“ We are afraid too that these preachers, by and by, will become poor, *and force us to pay them for living among us, and disturbing us.*

“ Some of our chiefs have got lazy, and instead of cultivating their lands themselves, employ white people to do so. There are now eleven white families living on our reservation at Buffalo; this is wrong and ought not to be permitted. The great source of all our grievances is that the white men are among us. Let them be removed, and we will be happy and contented among ourselves. We now cry to the governor for help, and hope that he will attend to our complaints, and speedily give us redress.

“ RED JACKET.”

This letter was dictated by Red Jacket, and interpreted by Henry Obeal, in the presence of the following Indians:

Red Jacket's son, Corn Planter,
John obb,
Peter, Young King's brother,

Tom the Infant,
Blue Sky,
John Sky,
Jemmy Johnson,
Marcus,
Big Fire,
Captain Jemmy.

The mistakes that have prevailed on the subject of civilization in general ought to have taught us to alter our plans. There is a cry in favour of education, which has produced, and continues to produce, lasting evils. Education is now understood to consist in reading, writing, arithmetic, and knowledge of languages; and by the application of these, we are told that the miseries and crimes which pervade civilized Europe are to be removed; the people to be made happy; society, in short, to be regenerated.

In this belief the mania for education has seized on all ranks; yet poverty, discontent, and crime seem to keep pace with all our endeavours. If the Indians are to be improved, or civilized, "Why education, to be sure, will do it: that is all that is wanted. But the education must be commenced by a missionary, and this missionary must undergo a certain series of scholastic studies to be fitted for his duty." Now let us look a little at this, the usual mode of proceeding. To civilize the Heathen, thousands, with the purest zeal, contribute their schemes; but the little success resulting from them all, has furnished the means of triumph to the infidel

and deist, occasioned lukewarmness in many who at first were ardent in the cause, and led to a conclusion either that the subjects of such philanthropy are incapable of receiving its benefits; that the Almighty has decreed that the time is not yet come for their condition to be ameliorated; or that such attempts are made merely for interested and similar ends. I appeal to all who have had an opportunity of knowing the general character of missionaries, whether the following brief view is not the mode by which five sixths of them have been selected. Sermons are preached; prayer meetings are held avowedly to promote the conversion of the Heathen; a cry is heard, "Who will devote himself to the service of God?" Hence many of acknowledged weakness of intellect, and some whose pecuniary embarrassments lead them to seek for support in this way, offer to undergo perils by land and by water in this, to their heated or interested imaginations, glorious work. These persons are accordingly sent to an academy to learn languages, the capacity for which constitutes a chief ingredient in their qualification. They are then sent forth, at a considerable expense, to evangelize the Heathen; and their great aim is to preach what they call the Gospel to the old, and to civilize the young, by what I denominate, for sake of distinction, "*book education*".

That so much failure, nay, that almost uniform failure, has arisen from the employment of such instruments, should surely have been expected; for, while I freely admit that of all undertakings this is

among the most praise-worthy, if followed with a single eye to the glory of God, and good of man, I feel convinced that none requires more profound knowledge of human nature, and intimate acquaintance, not only with the passions of others, but with our own. When I read the manner in which the Lord Jesus Christ taught his disciples, I find that the doctrines concerning himself and his kingdom were the last things he inculcated, and even then very sparingly. When questions, bearing on the subject, were excited by his conduct and actions, he answered them; but never made the doctrinal the prominent part of his mission. His first public act was in administering to the amusement and festivity of the people by converting water into wine; the next was attention to their sick; on another occasion he provided them with food; and his whole divine life, was spent in going about promoting their bodily comforts, having in ultimate view the good of their souls; so that the great object was kept, as it were, in the back-ground. See how merciful he was to their offences: how he repressed all severity in judging or condemning; and evermore refused to be a ruler, assuming only the meek and lowly rank of one that served!

In short, let us carefully examine the means which He, who had the hearts of all men in his hands, and who could turn them as he pleased, adopted for the instruction of mankind, and much light will be afforded in all future attempts to instruct those nations denominated heathen or savage. The Mora-

vians, as before mentioned, have been more successful than all other sects put together, in consequence, I conceive, of their having had more regard to the Christian plan as adverted to.

The following hints I offer with humility, as means which, from my observation of man in his natural and polished state, appear, to me at least, likely to succeed :

The Indians, as already shewn, are fond of silver rings, collars, and other trinkets, as ornaments of dress ; of music, fishing, and hunting, as sources of amusement ; and are by no means insensible to the bodily advantages arising from a store of food and clothing against the time of want.

Upon these, their main desires, I would found my plan.

I would select a blacksmith, provide him with a portable forge, portable scantlings of iron, and all necessary instruments for polishing iron and copper. There should also be a man uniting the carpenter's and cart-maker's trades, well furnished with suitable tools. To these I would add one or two persons who could play on the clarionet, flute, violin, or other musical instrument of simple construction. This establishment should be under the superintendence of a man of discretion, divested of gloomy habits and those false views that connect austerity of manners with the essentials of Christianity. He should make allowance for the prejudices and passions of those under his charge, that he might the better give them a just direction ; and,

especially in the commencement of his authority, he should deal tenderly with offences, redoubling his care with regard to the delinquent.

Under the eye of such a person, the operations should begin in a fertile place, in the neighbourhood of such of the tribes as might desire an establishment of this nature ; making the pleasures of music, or the possession of manufactures, the reward for devoting themselves to industry. In this way I would *assist* them in building houses, so as to induce them to value a fixed habitation ; and the house so built should belong *to the tribe* to bestow as they pleased. By repairing their tools and instruments of agriculture, assisting in raising their houses, instructing such as wished it to handle the axe for their own benefit, and making the hearing and learning of music the reward for industry, I should confidently hope to induce some few to abandon the migratory life they have hitherto led, which, in my opinion, is the most important point to be gained. After this shall be firmly established, a time will gradually come on when the inculcation of book-knowledge will be highly beneficial ; but in our early efforts it is worse than useless. If the Indian can be prevailed on to aid in building a house ; if he finds there a solace after his fatigues, and the means of allaying his hunger, I am warranted by all that I have seen and heard, in asserting that the best rudiments of civilization will be immoveably fixed.

The above establishment should be capable of being transferred from tribe to tribe. Its members

should have their wives and families with them ; no man should be sent without his wife on any account. The party should, moreover, consist of persons duly sensible of the blessings and privileges of the Christian religion, and should at stated times assemble for worship, paying great attention to solemnity, decorum, and order, in doing so ; yet having especial care to avoid all kind of constraint with regard to the Indians, or any species of penalty for non-attendance on their part. The Lord's day should nevertheless be truly kept as a Sabbath by all, as far as cessation from worldly labour is concerned. The Indians should be told the reason of resting thereon : that such rest was at first instituted by God to perpetuate the remembrance of his having created the world, and all things therein ; and latterly to keep in the minds of men the memory that Christ arose from the dead on the first day of the week, having completed the work of redemption. The good news of salvation to sinners of all nations, through the atonement on the cross, should be proclaimed with joy and praise and thanksgiving, and not with those gloomy severities, which are regarded as true piety by many. The Indians would thus be led to inquire concerning God and the Saviour ; when portions of the Bible, descriptive of the attributes of the Most High, and the life of the Lord Jesus, should be read ; carefully avoiding to pass from one portion until it should be firmly fixed in their recollection, (of which their capacity is great), nor until they *desired to hear more*. These means, always

accompanied by kindness and sympathy, I confidently hope God would approve and bless.

I by no means desire to be understood as wishing to discourage the efforts of persons who may differ with my views of the subject ; neither do I arrogate that those I have set forth are infallible ; but I do conceive that the great qualification of *humility*, of being and acting as a *servant* to the heathen, has not been sufficiently tried. Few men can resist the temptation of power, when within reach ; and I have proofs, too abundant, before me, that many who seem humble before their superiors, are haughty and tyrannical among the Indians. The letter from Red Jacket to Governor Clinton, quoted in this chapter, shows how wide this evil has spread ; and I fear the spirit of Mr. Hyde is not so rare as, for the honour of human nature, one could wish it to be. No species of vileness can be more injurious, or more opposed to the example of Christ and his Apostles.

I have been led to recommend music, as I found that of the articles sent here by the British Government, a large quantity of jews' harps, (the parent of all instruments), were selected by the Indians in preference to knives, and other valuable articles. Is there any sentence more common than the following words of the poet ?

Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast,
To soften rocks, and bend the knotted oak !

Yet when and where has it been tried as an auxiliary in the work of civilization ?

CHAPTER X.

REMONSTRANCES OF THE INDIANS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1790.

It is no less curious than lamentable to observe the uniform and withering persecution which the Indians have laboured under from their earliest acquaintance with white men to the present day. Whatever dissimilarity may have existed in the characteristics, political and moral, of the various nations of Europe, they seem to have resembled each other in this one thing, namely, inextinguishable, unsparing oppression of the North American Indians. Dutch, French, English, and even those who, in one sense, may be termed their own countrymen, the citizens of the United States, have all agreed in keeping no faith with the original inhabitants of this vast continent. No : their dominions were too fertile in sources of wealth, for them to expect any thing like fair-dealing from their refined invaders, who first flattered and cajoled them, and then rewarded their hospitality with the sword and the cannon. The United States, especially about the time of their struggle with the mother-country for their own independence, it might be thought would have had so lively a sense of the value and blessing of liberty, as not to attempt any undue control or tyranny over their red brethren ; but alas, like other nations, their worship

of freedom was not as it existed in the abstract, but only as it affected their own happiness.

This will be illustrated in the following interesting correspondence between the Senecas and General Washington, in 1790.

To the Great Council of the Thirteen Fires. The Speech of Corn Plant, Half Town, and Big Tree, Chiefs and Counsellors of the Seneca Nation.*

Father,—The voice of the Seneca Nations speaks to you, the great counsellor, in whose heart the wise men of all the Thirteen Fires have placed their wisdom; it may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak of things which are to us very great.

When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the town-destroyer; and to this day, when your name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our counsellors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the fears of our women and children, and desire that it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more.

When you gave us peace we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and so long as the land shall remain, that beloved name shall be in the heart of every Seneca.

* Thirteen States.

Father,—We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do.

When our chiefs returned from the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us any thing for it. Every one said, that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would consider it with more kindness. We asked each other, what have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

Father,—When you kindled your Thirteen Fires separately*, the wise men assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers; the children of one great father, who regarded the red people as his children. They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection. They told us that he resided beyond the great water where the sun first rises; that he was a king whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was as bright as the sun: what they said went to our hearts. We accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca Nation promises they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him, we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise told us, that you were children and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you

* Before the union of the States.

would submit. We hearkened unto them, and were deceived until your army approached our towns. We were deceived, but your people teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive us, and we now appeal to your heart, is all the blame ours?

Father,—When we saw that we had been deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire you had kindled and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste toward it. You then told us you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered to us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to has bound our nation; but your anger against us must by this time be cooled, and although our strength is not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly: Were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable and just?

Father,—Your commissioners, when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you, from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the land which we inhabited, east and north of that line.—Does this promise bind you?

Hear now, we entreat you, what has since happened concerning that land. On the day we finished the treaty at Fort Stanwix, commissioners

from Pennsylvania told our chiefs, that they had come there to purchase from lines of their state; and they told us that all the lands belonging to us within the line, would strike the river Susquehanna below Tioga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain until next day. The next day we let them know, that we were unwilling to sell all the land within their state, and proposed to let them have a part of it, which we pointed out to them in their map. They told us that they must have the whole, that it was already ceded to them by the great king, at the time of making peace with you, and was then their own; but they said that they would not take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it, after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend at that time, and therefore they sold the lands up to the line, which was then shown them as the line of that state. What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, they considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice, but since that time we have heard so much from others about the right to our lands which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you will tell us what it means.

Our nation empowered J. L. to let out a part of our lands; he told us that he was sent by Congress to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he obtained from us; for since the time of our giving that power, a man named P—, has

come and claimed our whole country northward of the line of Pennsylvania, under a purchase from that L. to whom he said he had paid twenty thousand dollars for it; he also said, that he had bought it from the council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them twenty thousand more for the same; and he also said, that it did not belong to us, for that the great king had ceded the whole of it, when you made peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country north of Pennsylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it; he insisted on his demand, and declared to us that he would have it all. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days he proposed to run a line a small distance eastward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate war if we did not comply.

Upon this threat our chiefs held a council, and they agreed that no event of war could be worse than to be driven, with our wives and children, from the only country which we had any right to; and therefore, weak as our nation was, they determined to take the chance of war rather than submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds. Mr. Street, the great trader at Niagara, was then with us, having come at the request of P—; and as he had always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him on this subject. He also told us that our lands had been ceded by the king, and that we must give them up. Astonished at what we heard

from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania, and east of the Chenesee river up to the great forks, and east of a south-line drawn up from that fork to the line of Pennsylvania. For this land P. agreed to pay us ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thousand dollars a year for ever. He paid us two thousand five hundred dollars, and he sent for us to come last spring and receive our money; but instead of paying us the residue (or remainder) of the ten thousand dollars, and the one thousand dollars due for the first year, he offered only five hundred dollars, and insisted that he had agreed with us for that sum to be paid yearly.

We debated with him for six days, during all which time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just demand; and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred dollars; and Street from Niagara also insisted on our receiving the money as it was offered us. The last reason which he assigned for continuing to refuse paying us was—that the king had ceded the land to the Thirteen Fires, and that he had bought them from you and paid you for them.

Father,—We could bear this confusion no longer, and determined to press through every difficulty, and lift up our voice so that you might hear us, and to claim that security in the possession of our lands, which your commissioners so solemnly promised us; and we now entreat you to inquire into our complaints, and to redress our wrongs.

Father,—Our writings were lodged in the hands of S. of Niagara, as we supposed him to be our friend; but when we saw P. consulting S. on every occasion, we doubted of his honesty towards us; and we have since heard that he was to receive for his endeavours to deceive us, a piece of land ten miles in width west of the Chenesee river; and near forty miles in length extending to Lake Ontario; and the lines of this tract have been run accordingly, although no part of it is within the bounds which limit his purchase.

Father,—You have said that we were in your hand, and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing. Are you then determined to crush us? If you are, tell us so, that those of our nation who have become your children, and have determined to die so, may know what to do. In this case one chief has said, he would ask you to put him out of his pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the hand of his father, or of his brother, has said he will retire to the Chataughque, eat of the fatal root, and sleep with his fathers in peace.

Before you determine a measure so unjust, look up to God, who made us as well as you; we hope he will not permit you to destroy the whole of our nation.

Father,—Hear our case: Many nations inhabited this country, but they had no wisdom, therefore they warred together; the Six Nations were powerful and compelled them to peace. The land for a great extent was given up to them, but the nations which were not destroyed all continued on those lands;

and claimed the protection of the Six Nations, as brothers of their fathers. They were men, and when at peace had a right to live upon the earth.

The French came among us, and built Niagara; they became our fathers, and took care of us. Sir William Johnson came, and took that fort from the French; he became our father, and promised to take care of us, and he did so until you were too strong for his king. To him we gave four miles round Niagara as a place of trade. We have already said how we came to join against you; we saw that we were wrong, we wished for peace, you demanded a great country to be given up to you, it was surrendered to you as the price of peace, and we ought to have peace and possession of the little land which you then left us.

Father,—When that great country was given up to you there were but few chiefs present, and they were compelled to give it up. And it is not the Six Nations only that reproach those chiefs with having given up that country. The Chipaways, and all the nations who lived on these lands westward, call to us, and ask us, “Brothers of our fathers, where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down upon?”

Father,—You have compelled us to do that which makes us ashamed. We have nothing to answer to the children of the brothers of our fathers. When last spring they called upon us to go to war to secure them a bed to lie down upon, the Senecas entreated them to be quiet until we had spoken to

you ; but on our way down, we heard that your army had gone towards the country which those nations inhabited ; and if they meet together, the best blood on both sides will stain the ground.

Father,—We will not conceal from you that the great God, and not men, has preserved the Corn Plant from the hands of his own nation. For they ask continually, “ Where is the land on which our children, and their children after them, are to lie down upon ? You told us,” say they, “ that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario, would mark it for ever on the east, and the line running from Beaver Creek to Pennsylvania, would mark it on the west, and we see that it is not so ; for first one, and then another, come and take it away by order of that people which you tell us promised to secure it to us.” He is silent, for he has nothing to answer. When the sun goes down he opens his heart before God ; and earlier than the sun appears again upon the hills, he gives thanks for his protection during the night ; for he feels that among men, become desperate by the injuries they sustain, it is God only that can preserve him. He loves peace, and all he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season, which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in endeavours to preserve peace ; and this moment his wife and children are lying on the ground, and in want of food : his heart is in pain for them, but he perceives

that the Great Spirit will try his firmness in doing what is right.

Father,—The game which the Great Spirit sent into our country for us to eat, is going from among us. We thought he intended we should till the ground with the plough as the white people do, and we talked to one another about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. Speak plainly to us concerning this great business.

All the land we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations: no part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it up to you. The land we live on our fathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us for our children, and we cannot part with it.

Father,—We told you that we would open our hearts to you: hear us once more. At Fort Stanwix we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, and that you might try them and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly; but instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate, and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish the murderer with death, but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation.

Father,—Innocent men of our nation are killed, one after another, and of our best families; but

none of your people who have committed those murders have been punished. We recollect that you did promise to punish those who killed our people; and we ask, was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished, but be protected from the next of kin?

Father,—These are to us very great things; we know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we shall wait to hear your answer that we may know that you are just.

Signed at Philadelphia, December, 1790.

his

By the CORN + PLANT,
mark.

his

HALF + TOWN,
mark.

his

BIG + TREE,
mark.

In the presence of

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, Interpreter,
and sundry others.

The Reply of the President of the United States, to the Speech of the Corn Plant, Half Town, and Big Tree, Chiefs and Counsellors of the Seneca Nation of Indians.

I, the President of the United States, by my own mouth, and by a written speech, signed by my own hand, and sealed with the seal of the United States,

—speak to the Seneca Nations, and desire their attention, that they would keep this speech in remembrance of the friendship of the United States. I have received your speech with satisfaction, as a proof of your confidence in the justice of the United States ; and I have attentively examined the several objects which you have laid before me, whether delivered by your chiefs at Tioga Point in the last month to Colonel Pickering, or laid before me in the present month by Corn Plant and other Seneca Chiefs now in Philadelphia.

In the first place, I observe to you, and I request it may sink deep in your minds, that it is my desire, and the desire of the United States, that all the miseries of the late war should be forgotten, and buried for ever. That, in future, the United States and the Six Nations should be truly brothers, promoting each other's prosperity by acts of mutual friendship and justice.

I am not uninformed that the Six Nations have been led into some difficulties with respect to the sale of their lands since the peace. But I must inform you that these evils arose before the general government of the United States was established, when the separate states, and individuals under their authority, undertook to treat with the Indian tribes respecting the sale of their lands.

But the case is now entirely altered. The general government only has the power to treat with the Indian Nation, and any treaty formed and held without its authority will not be binding.

Here then is the security for the remainder of your lands. No state or person can purchase your lands, unless at some public treaty held under the authority of the United States. The general government will never consent to your being defrauded; but it will protect you in all your rights. Hear well, and let it be heard by every person in your nation, that the President of the United States declares that the general government considers itself bound to protect you in all the lands secured you by the treaty at Fort Stanwix, the 22d day of October, 1784, except such part as you may since have fairly sold to persons properly authorized to purchase of you.

You complain that J— L— and O— P— have obtained your lands, assisted by Mr. S— of Niagara, and that they have not complied with their agreement.

It appears, upon inquiry of the governor of New York, that J— L— was not legally authorized to treat with you, and that every thing he did with you has been declared null and void, so that you may rest easy on that account.

But it does not appear from any proofs, yet in the possession of government, that O— P— has defrauded you. If however you should have any just cause of complaint against him, and can make satisfactory proof thereof, the Federal Courts will be open to you for redress, as to all other persons*.

* Referring an Indian Chief to the courts of law for redress, is worse than a plain denial. B.

But your great object seems to be, the security of your remaining lands, and I have therefore upon this point meant to be sufficiently strong and clear.

That in future you cannot be defrauded of your lands. That you possess the right to sell, and the right of refusing to sell your lands; that therefore the sale of your lands, in future, will depend entirely on yourselves.

But that when you may find it for your interest to sell any part of your lands, the United States must be present by their agent, and will be your security that you shall not be defrauded in the bargain you may make.

It will however be important, that, before you make any further sale of your land, you should determine among yourselves, who are the persons among you that shall give such conveyances thereof, as shall be binding upon your nation, and for ever preclude all disputes relative to the validity of the sale.

That, besides the before-mentioned security for your land, you will perceive, by the laws of Congress, for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the fatherly care the United States intend to take of the Indians. For the particular meaning of this law, I refer you to the explanations given thereof by Col. Pickering at Tioga, which, with the laws, are herewith delivered to you.

You have said in your speech, that the game is going away from among you, and that you thought it the design of the Great Spirit that you till

ground ; but before you speak upon this subject you want to know, whether the United States meant to leave you any land to till.

You now know that all the lands secured to you by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, excepting such parts as you may once have fairly sold, are yours, and that only your own acts can convey them away. Speak therefore your wishes on the subject of tilling the ground: the United States will be happy to afford you every assistance in the only business which will add to your numbers and happiness.

The murders which have been committed upon some of your people by the bad white men, I sincerely lament and reprobate, and I earnestly hope that the real murderers will be secured and punished as they deserve*. This business has been sufficiently explained to you here by the governor of Pennsylvania, and by Col. Pickering, in behalf of the United States, at Tioga.

The Senecas may be assured, that the rewards offered for apprehending the murderers, will be continued until they are secured for trial, and that when they shall be apprehended, they will be tried and punished, as if they had killed white men.

Having answered the most material parts of your speech, I shall inform you that some bad Indians, and the outcast of several tribes, who reside at the Miami village, have long continued their murders and depredations upon the frontiers lying along the

* No attempt was ever made to punish them. B,

Ohio. That they have not only refused to listen to my voice, inviting them to peace, but that, upon receiving it, they renewed their incursions and murders with greater violence than ever. I have therefore been obliged to strike those bad people, in order to make them sensible of their madness. I sincerely hope they will hearken to reason, and not require to be further chastised. The United States desire to be friends of the Indians upon terms of justice and humanity ; but they will not suffer the depredations of the bad Indians to go unpunished.

My desire is, that you would caution all the Senecas, and Six Nations, to prevent their rash young men from joining the Miami Indians ; for the United States cannot distinguish the tribes to which bad Indians belong, and every tribe must take care of their own people.

The merits of the Corn Plant, and his friendship for the United States, are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten ; and as a mark of the esteem of the United States, I have directed the secretary of war to make him a present of two hundred and fifty dollars, either in money or goods, as the Corn Plant shall like best, and he may depend on the future care and kindness of the United States. And I have also directed the secretary of war to make suitable presents to the other chiefs present in Philadelphia, and also that some further tokens of friendship be forwarded to the other chiefs now in their nation.

Remember my words, Senecas : continue to be strong in your friendship for the United States, as

the only rational ground of your future happiness, and you may rely upon their kindness and protection.

An agent shall soon be appointed to reside in some place convenient to the Senecas and Six Nations; he will represent the United States. Apply to him on all occasions.

If any man brings you evil reports of the intentions of the United States, mark that man as your enemy, for he will mean to deceive you, and lead you into trouble. The United States will be true and faithful to their engagements.

Given under my hand and seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this twenty-ninth day of December, in the year of our Lord 1790, and in the fifteenth year of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States,

G. WASHINGTON.

By the president,

T. JEFFERSON.

Enrolled in the Rolls-Office, for the State of Pennsylvania, in Commission Book No. 1, page 255, &c.

MATT. IRVIN.

To the President of the United States of America. The Speech of Corn Plant, Half Town, and Big Tree, Chiefs of the Seneca Nation.

Father,—Your speech, written on the great paper, is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick

man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples, and prevents him from sleeping; he sees it and rejoices, but is not cured. You say you have spoken plainly on the great point; that you will protect us in our lands, secured to us at Fort Stanwix; and that we have the right to sell, or refuse to sell it. This is very good.

But our nation complain that you compelled us, at that treaty, to give up too much of our lands. We confess, that our nation was bound by what was done there, and acknowledge your power. We have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty, as made while you were too angry at us, and therefore unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer.

Father,—That treaty was not with a single state, it was with the Thirteen States; we should never have given all that land to one state. We know that it was before you had the great authority; and as you have more wisdom than the commissioners, who forced us into that treaty, we expect you have more regard to justice, and will now at our request re-consider the treaty, and restore to us part of that land.

Father,—The land which lies between the line running south from the Lake Erie, to the boundary of Pennsylvania, as mentioned in the treaty at Fort Stanwix; and the eastern boundary of that land which you sold, and the Senecas confirmed to Pennsylvania, is the land on which Half Town and all his people live, with other chiefs, who always have been,

and still are, dissatisfied with the treaty at Fort Stanwix. They grew out of this land, and their fathers' fathers grew out of it, and they cannot be persuaded to part with it; we therefore entreat you to restore to us this little piece.

Father,—Look at the land we gave to you at the treaty, and then cast your eyes upon what we now ask you to restore to us; and you will see that what we ask is a very little piece. By giving it back again you will satisfy the whole of our nation. The chiefs who signed that treaty will be in safety; and peace between your children and our children will continue so long as your lands continue to join ours. Every man of our nation will turn his eyes away from all the other lands, which we then gave up to you, and forget that our fathers even said that they belonged to them.

Father,—We see that you ought to have the path at the carrying place from Lake Erie to Niagara, as it was marked down at Fort Stanwix; and we are willing it should remain to be yours. And if you desire to reserve a passage, through the Conne-waugo, and through the Chataughque Lake, and land for a path from that Lake to Lake Erie, take it where you like best. Our nation will rejoice to see it an open path for you and your children, while the land and water remain; but let us pass along the same way, and continue to take the fish in these waters in common with you.

Father,—You say you will appoint an agent to take care of us. Let him come and take care of our

trade: but we desire he may not have any thing to do with our lands; for the agents which have come among us, and pretended to take care of us, have always deceived us whenever we sold lands; both when the king and when the separate states have bargained with us. They have by this means occasioned many wars, and we are unwilling to trust them again.

Father,—When we return home, we will call a great council, and consider well how land may be hereafter sold by our nation: and when we have agreed upon it, we will send you notice thereof; but we desire you will not depend on your agent for information concerning land.

Father,—We will not hear lies concerning you; and we desire that you will not hear lies concerning us; and then we shall certainly live in peace with you.

Father,—There are men who go from town to town, and beget children, and leave them to perish, or to grow up without instruction, unless better men take care of them. Our nation has long looked round for a father, but they found none that would own them for their children, until you now tell us that your courts are open to us, as to your own people. The joy we feel on this great news so mixes with the sorrows that are past, that we cannot express our gladness, nor conceal the remembrance of our affliction: we will speak of it another time.

ather,—We are ashamed that we have listened to L——'s lies, or been influenced with threats of

war from P——, and would hide that whole transaction from the world, and from ourselves, by quietly receiving from P—— what he promised to give us for the lands they cheated us of. But as P—— will not pay us even according to that fraudulent bargain, we must lay the whole proceedings before your courts. When the evidence which we can produce is heard, we think it will appear that the whole bargain was founded in lies, which he placed one upon another; that the goods which he charged to us as part payment, were plundered from us; and that if P—— was not directly concerned in the theft, he knew of it at the time, and concealed it from us; and that the persons we confided in were bribed by him to deceive us in the bargain; and if these facts appear, that your courts will not say that such bargains are just, but set the whole aside.

Father,—We expect that our evidence might be called for, as P—— was here and knew what we had said concerning him; and as Ebenezer Allen knew something of the matter, we desired him to continue here. Nicholson, the interpreter, is very sick, and we desire that Allen may remain a few days longer, as he speaks our language.

Father,—The blood that was spilt near Pine Creek is covered, and we shall never look where it lies. We know Pennsylvania will satisfy us for that which we speak of to them, before we speak to you. The chain of friendship will now, we hope, be made strong, as you desire it to be. We will hold it fast, and our end of it shall never rust in our hands.

Father,—We told you what advice we gave to the

people you are now at war with ; and we now tell you they have promised to come again next spring to our towns. We shall not wait for their coming, but set out very early in the season, and show them what you have done for us, which must convince them that you will do for them every thing that they ought to ask. We think they will hear us, and follow our advice.

Father,—You gave us leave to speak our minds concerning tilling of the ground. We ask you to teach us to plough and grind corn, and supply us with broad-axes, saws, augers, and other tools, to assist us in building saw-mills, so that we may make our houses more comfortable and durable ; that you will send smiths among us ; and above all that you will teach our children to read and write, and our women to spin and weave. The manner of doing these things for us, we leave to you who understand them ; but we assure you we will follow your advice as far as we are able.

The President of the United States, his second Reply to the Speech of Corn Plant, Half Town, and Big Tree, Chiefs of the Seneca Nation of Indians.

Brothers,—I have maturely considered your second written speech. You say your nation complain, that at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, you were compelled to give up too much of your lands ; that you confess your nation is bound by what was then done, and acknowledging the power of the United States ; that you have now appealed to ourselves

against that treaty, as made while we were angry against you ; and that the said treaty was therefore unreasonable and unjust. But while you complain of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1784, you seem entirely to forget, that you yourselves, Corn Plant, Half Town, and Big Tree, with others of your nation, confirmed by the treaty at Fort Harmar upon the Muskingum, so late as the 9th of January, 1789, the boundaries marked at the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and that in consequence thereof, you then received goods to a considerable amount.

Although it is my sincere desire, in looking forward, to endeavour to promote your happiness by all just and humane arrangements, yet I cannot disannul treaties formed by the United States before my administration; especially as the boundaries mentioned therein have been twice confirmed by yourselves. The lines fixed at Fort Stanwix and Fort Harmar must therefore remain established. But Half Town and others, who reside upon the lands you desire may be relinquished, have not been disturbed in their possession; and I should hope, while he and they continue to demean themselves peaceably, and to manifest their friendly dispositions to the people of the United States, that they will be suffered to remain where they are. And the agent who will be appointed by the United States will be your friend and protector: he will not be suffered to defraud you or to assist in defrauding you of your lands, or of any other thing; and all his proceedings must be reported in writing, so as to be submitted to the President of the United States.

You mention your design of going to the Miami Indians, to endeavour to persuade them to peace. By this humane measure you will render those mistaken people a great service, and probably prevent their being swept from the face of the earth. The United States require only that those people should demean themselves peaceably; but they may be assured that the United States are able, and will most certainly punish them severely for all their robberies and murders.

You may, when you return from this city to your own country, mention to your nation, my desire to promote their prosperity, by teaching them the use of domestic animals, and the manner that the white people plough and raise so much corn; and if, upon consideration, it would be agreeable to the nation at large to learn those valuable arts, I shall find some means of teaching them, at such places within their country as shall be agreed on.

I have nothing more to add, but to refer you to my former speech, and to repeat my wishes for the happiness of the Seneca Nation.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the
United States, at Philadelphia, this 19th
day of January, 1791.

G. WASHINGTON.

By the president,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Enrolled in Commission Book, No, 1, page 259,
&c., for the State of Pennsylvania.

MATTHEW IRVIN.

To the Great Counsellor of the Thirteen Fires. The Speech of Corn Plant, Half Town, and Big Tree, Seneca Chiefs.

Father,—No Seneca ever goes from the fire of his friend until he has said to him, “I am going.” We therefore tell you, that we are now setting out for our own country.

Father,—We thank you from our hearts that we now know that there is a country that we may call our own, and on which we may lie down in peace. We see that there will be peace between our children and your children, and our hearts are very glad. We will persuade the Wyandots, and other western nations to open their eyes, and look towards the bed which you have made for us, and to ask of you a bed for themselves and their children that will not slide from under them. We thank you for your presents to us, and rely on your promise to instruct us in raising corn as the white people do. The sooner you do this the better for us; and we thank you for the care which you have taken to prevent bad people coming to trade among us. If any come without your license, we will turn them back; and we hope our nation will determine to spill all the rum that shall hereafter be brought to our towns.

Father,—We are glad to hear that you are determined to appoint an agent that will do us justice, in taking care that bad men do not come to trade among us; but we earnestly entreat you, that you will let us have an interpreter, in whom we can confide, to

reside at Pittsburgh. To that place our people and other nations will long resort: there we must send what news we hear when we go among the western nations, which we are determined shall be next spring. We know Joseph Nicholson—he speaks our language, so that we clearly understand what you say to us, and depend on what he says. If we were able to pay him for his services, we would do it; but when we give him land for pay, it has not been confirmed to him, and he will not serve any longer unless you will pay him. Let him stand between us and you, we entreat you.

Father,—You have not asked of us any surety for peace on our part; but we have agreed to send nine Seneca boys to be under your care for education; tell us at what time you will receive them, and they shall be sent at that time. This will assure you that we are indeed at peace with you, and determined to continue so. If you can teach them to be wise and good men, we will take care that our nation shall be willing to be instructed by them.

Signed in the presence of

JOSEPH NICHOLSON, Interpreter.

THOMAS PROCTOR.

TIMOTHY MATLACK.

Philadelphia, February 7, 1791.

The subscriber, the Secretary of War, has submitted your speech of yesterday to the President of the United States, who has commanded him to assure you of his good wishes for your happiness, and that you may have a pleasant journey to your own country.

The Governor of the Western Territory will appoint you an interpreter, whenever one shall be necessary. The President of the United States does not choose to interfere on this point.

The President of the United States thinks it will be the best mode of teaching you how to raise corn, by sending one or two sober men to reside in your nation, with proper implements of husbandry. It will therefore be proper that you should, upon consultation, appoint a proper place for such persons to till the ground : they are not to claim the lands on which they shall plough.

The President of the United States also thinks it will be the best mode of teaching your children to read and write, to send a schoolmaster among you, and not for you to send your children among us ; he will therefore look out for a proper person for this business.

As soon as you shall learn any thing of the intentions of the Western Indians, you will inform the Governor of the Western Territory thereof, or the officer commanding at Fort Washington, in order to be communicated to the President of the United States.

Given at the War Office of the United States,
the 8th of February, 1791.

(Copy.)

KNOX, Secretary of War.

*A Treaty between the United States of America, and the
Tribes of Indians called the Six Nations.*

THE President of the United States having determined to hold a conference with the Six Nations of Indians, for the purpose of removing from their minds all causes of complaint, and establishing a firm and permanent friendship with them; and Timothy Pickering being appointed sole agent for that purpose; and the agent having met and conferred with the Sachems, Chiefs, and Warriors of the Six Nations, in a general Council: Now, in order to accomplish the good design of this conference, the parties have agreed on the following articles; which, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the Six Nations:

ARTICLE I. Peace and friendship are hereby firmly established, and shall be perpetual, between the United States and the Six Nations.

ARTICLE II. The United States acknowledge the lands reserved to the Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga Nations, in their respective treaties with the state of New York, and called their reservations, to be their property; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb them, or either of the Six Nations, nor their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof: but the said reservations shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase.

ARTICLE III. The land of the Seneca Nation is bounded as follows : Beginning on Lake Ontario, at the north-west corner of the land they sold to Oliver Phelps, the line runs westerly along the lake, as far as O-yong-wong-yeh Creek, at Johnson's Landing-place, about four miles eastward from the Fort of Niagara ; then southerly up that Creek to its main fork ; then straight to the main fork of Stedman's Creek, which empties into the river Niagara above Fort Schlosser ; and then onward, from that fork, continuing the same straight course, to that river ; (this line, from the mouth of O-yong-wong-yeh Creek to the river Niagara above Fort Schlosser, being the eastern boundary of a strip of land, extending from the same line to Niagara river, which the Seneca Nation ceded to the King of Great Britain, at a treaty held about thirty years ago, with Sir William Johnson;) then the line runs along the river Niagara to Lake Erie ; then along Lake Erie to the north-east corner of a triangular piece of land which the United States conveyed to the state of Pennsylvania, as by the President's patent, dated the third day of March, 1792 ; then due south to the northern boundary of that state ; then due east to the south-west corner of the land sold by the Seneca Nation to Oliver Phelps ; and then north and northerly, along Phelps' line to the place of beginning on Lake Ontario. Now, the United States acknowledge all the land within the afore-mentioned boundaries to be the property of the Seneca Nation, and the United States will never claim the same, nor

disturb the Seneca Nation, nor any of the Six Nations, or of their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase.

ARTICLE IV. The United States having thus described and acknowledged what lands belong to the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and engaged never to claim the same, nor to disturb them, or any of the Six Nations, or their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof: Now, the Six Nations and each of them hereby engage that they will never claim any other lands within the boundaries of the United States; nor ever disturb the people of the United States in the free use and enjoyment thereof.

ARTICLE V. The Seneca Nation, all others of the Six Nations concurring, cede to the United States the right of making a waggon road from Fort Schlosser to Lake Erie, as far south as Buffalo Creek; and the people of the United States shall have the free and undisturbed use of this road for the purposes of travelling and transportation. And the Six Nations and each of them will for ever allow to the people of the United States a free passage through their lands, and the free use of the harbours and rivers adjoining and within their respective tracts of land, for the passing and securing of vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their safety.

ARTICLE VI. In consideration of the peace and friendship hereby established, and of the engagements entered into by the Six Nations; and because the United States desire, with humanity and kindness, to contribute to their comfortable support; and to render the peace and friendship hereby established strong and perpetual; the United States now deliver to the Six Nations and the Indians of the other nations residing among, and united with them, a quantity of goods of the value of ten thousand dollars. And for the same considerations, and with a view to promote the future welfare of the Six Nations and of their Indian friends aforesaid, the United States will add the sum of three thousand dollars to the one thousand five hundred dollars heretofore allowed them by an article ratified by the President on the twenty-third day of April, 1792; making in the whole four thousand five hundred dollars; which shall be expended yearly for ever, in purchasing clothing, domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils suited to their circumstances, and in compensating useful artificers who shall reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit. The immediate application of the whole annual allowance now stipulated, to be made by the Superintendent appointed by the President for the affairs of the Six Nations and their Indian friends aforesaid.

ARTICLE VII. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and Six Nations agree, that for injuries done by individuals,

on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured to the other: by the Six Nations or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the Superintendent by him appointed: and by the Superintendent, or other person appointed by the President, to the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, or of the nation to which the offender belongs: and such prudent measures shall then be pursued as shall be necessary to preserve our peace and friendship unbroken; until the legislature (or great council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision for the purpose.

NOTE. It is clearly understood by the parties to this treaty, that the annuity stipulated in the sixth article is to be applied to the benefit of such of the Six Nations and of their Indian friends united with them as aforesaid, as do or shall reside within the boundaries of the United States: For the United States do not interfere with nations, tribes, or families of Indians elsewhere resident.

In witness whereof, the said Timothy Pickering, and the Sachems and War-chiefs of the said Six Nations, have hereto set their hands and seals.--Done at Konon-daigua, in the state of New York, the eleventh day of November, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. s.)

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Signed by Fifty-Nine Chiefs of the Six Nations.

I grant there is *some* fairness, and an appearance of more, in the replies of the American government; but it cannot be denied that in one or two instances the complaints of the Indians are evaded, and in others wholly overlooked. The consideration, such as it is, did not come spontaneously, but was brought about by a strong appeal which it was not possible to neglect. The redress altogether is inadequate. The United States, perhaps, went as far as their *expediencies* would allow; but justice is another thing.

CHAPTER XI.

SALE OF LANDS BY THE INDIANS.

THE following is a statement of land purchased by the United States from the Indians up to the year 1820 :

Total quantity, 191,778,536 acres.

In payment for which, sums to the amount of 2,542,916 dollars have been appropriated.

Of these lands 18,601,930 acres, have been vended by the States' Government, and there remain in their possession 173,176,606 acres.

The sum of 22,229,180 dollars has actually been paid into the treasury of the United States, in part of the purchases of the above land ; leaving still due, (for which the land is a security) 22,000,657 dollars.

The account, then, will stand thus :

Dr.

INDIANS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Cr.

| | DOLLARS. | | DOLLARS. |
|--|------------|--|-------------|
| Amount and Value of Annuities to Indians | 2,542,916 | By Cash received on Sale of Lands | 22,229,180 |
| Expense of Surveys and Agency | 1,700,716 | Ditto still due on ditto | 22,000,657 |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | 4,243,632 | | |
| Balance to Credit | 39,986,205 | | |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 44,229,837 | | |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | 44,229,837 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | Balance brought down | 39,986,205 |
| | | Lands unsold, viz., 173,176,606 Acres, at | |
| | | the lowest estimate, one dollar per acre * 173,176,606 | |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | Balance of gain on the part of the United | |
| | | States in dealing with the Indians | 213,162,811 |
| | | | <hr/> |

* The price fixed by Congress is two dollars per acre.

How irresistibly, to say nothing of *natural* rights, do these transactions establish the claim of the Indians to protection and kindness from the United States!

The purchases of land from the Indians by the British Government do not exceed ten millions of acres; for 7,491,190 of which, the Indians receive goods annually amounting in value to 4155*l*. Halifax currency, or 16,620 dollars. The British Government has not sold its lands, but, with the exception of a few hundred acres lately disposed of near Yorkin Upper Canada, has made gratuitous grants of them.

Besides which, about 20,000 Indians annually receive from the British government, blankets, and presents of various kinds—so that while the Americans have gained so largely by their intercourse with the natives within their territories, the British are annually losers. But both are awfully deficient in using means to improve the condition of the Indians.

CHAPTER XII.

NAMES OF THE DIFFERENT INDIAN NATIONS HITHER-
TO DISCOVERED IN NORTH AMERICA, THE SITU-
ATION OF THEIR COUNTRIES, WITH THE NUMBER OF
THEIR FIGHTING MEN.

| | |
|--|-------|
| THE Choctaws or Flatheads, on the Molect | 4,500 |
| The Natches | 150 |
| The Chukesws, Mississippi | 750 |
| The Cherokees, South Carolina | 2,500 |
| The Chatabas, between North and South Carolina | 150 |
| The Peantias, a wandering tribe, both sides of the Mississippi | 800 |
| The Kasgresquios or Illinois | 600 |
| The Piaukishaws | 250 |
| The Qurachtenons | 400 |
| The Kikapous | 300 |
| The Shawanese or Sciota | 500 |
| The Delawares, on the west of Ohio | 300 |
| The Miamis | 350 |
| The Upper Creeks back of Georgia | 4,000 |
| The Middle Creeks, North Florida | |
| The Lower Creeks, East Florida | |
| The Caocutas, on the East of the River Alibamous | 700 |
| The Alibamous, West of the Alibamous | 600 |
| The Arkansas | 2,000 |

West Side.

| | |
|---|-------|
| The Anjoues, North of the Missouri | 1,000 |
| The Padilonians, West of the Mississippi | 500 |
| The White Panis, South of the Mississippi | 2,000 |
| The Freckled or Prickled Panis | 2,000 |
| The Cansas | 1,600 |
| The Osages | 600 |
| The Grand Eaux | 1,000 |

Carried forward . . 27,550

| | | |
|--|------------------------|--------|
| | Brought forward | 27,550 |
| The Missouri, upon the River Missouri | | 3,000 |
| The Sioux of the Woods, towards the heads | | 1,800 |
| The Sioux of the Meadows of the Missouri | | 2,500 |
| The Blanks Barbus, or White Indians with Beards | | 1,500 |
| The Assiniboils, farther North near the Lakes | | 1,500 |
| The Christaneaux | | 3,000 |
| The Orusconsins, on the river of the same name, falling into the Mississippi | | 500 |
| The Mascordins | | 500 |
| The Sakis | } South of Pecan's Bay | 400 |
| The Mechuouakis | | 250 |
| Folle Avoini, or Wild Oat Indians | | 350 |
| The Peans | | 700 |
| The Potawatamis, near Detroit | | 350 |
| The Missisagues, or River Indians, being wandering tribes on Lakes Huron and Superior | | 2,000 |
| The Ottapoas, Lake Superior | | 900 |
| The Chepewas | | 5,000 |
| The Weandots, Lake Erie | | 300 |
| The Six Nations or Iroquois | | 1,500 |
| The Round-headed Indian, near Ottawas | | 2,500 |
| The Algonkins, near the above | | 300 |
| The Nepessins, near ditto | | 400 |
| The Chatas, St. Lawrence | | 130 |
| The Amelestes, or the Bark | | 550 |
| The Mukmacks, Bark of Nova Scotia | | 700 |
| The Abenaques, ditto | | 350 |
| The Conaway Crunas, near the Falls of St. Lewis | | 200 |

Total . 58,730 Warriors.

58,730 warriors, one-third old men, makes 78,306. Multiplying by six gives 469,836 souls, men, women, and children*.

* The publishers think it necessary to state that the M.S. of the above Indian names was in an almost illegible hand; and the author being in America, they had no means of correcting it.

The foregoing list I received from old Mr. Heckewelder, the Missionary, to whom I paid a visit a short time ago at Bethlehem, where he resides. His active and constant exertions, in the cause of benevolence, seem to have been rewarded with health and long life. He is now in his eighty-eighth year, and his faculties are vigorous and alert. From him I learnt that it is not in the power of man to come at any thing demonstrative as to the numbers of the Indians. The list now before the reader, refers to what was known between the years 1770 and 1780, and I have no reason whatever to doubt its accuracy. I find in the records of 1794, that a treaty was arranged at Philadelphia with the President of the United States, which comprehended *upwards* of fifty-seven thousand Indian warriors.

This statement, therefore, could not have included the inhabitants of the immense regions from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, and North to Hudson's Bay. But travellers have in all places found numbers, so that having reference to extent of territory, I do not overrate the population of the Indian nations at two millions; taking in from the Isthmus of Panama, and consequently including Mexico. It should be borne in mind that the great body of any Indian tribe never appear to strangers: only the scouts are seen.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIAN ANECDOTES.

JUSTICE.

THE Indians have a strong innate sense of justice, which will lead them sometimes to acts which some men will call heroic, others romantic, and not a few, perhaps, will designate by the epithet *barbarous*; a vague indefinite word, which if it means any thing, might, perhaps, be best explained by *something not like ourselves*. However that may be, this feeling certainly exists among the Indians, and as I cannot describe it better than by its effects, I shall content myself with relating on this subject a characteristic anecdote which happened in the year 1793, at an Indian village called *La Chine*, situated nine miles above Montreal, and was told me in the same year by Mr. La Ramée, a French Canadian inhabitant of that place, whom I believe to be a person of strict veracity. I was then on my return from Detroit, in company with General Lincoln and several other gentlemen, who were present at the relation, and gave it their full belief. I thought it then so interesting, that I inserted it in my journal, from which I now extract it.

There were in the said village of *La Chine*, two remarkable Indians, the one for his stature, being six feet four inches in height, and the other for his

strength and activity. These two meeting together one day in the street (a third being present,) the former in a high tone made use of some insulting language to the other, which he could not well put up with: he called him a coward, said he was his inferior in every respect, and so provoked his anger, that unable any longer to contain himself, the latter instantly replied: "You have grossly insulted me; but I will prevent you from doing the like again!" and at the same moment stabbed him through the body with his knife, so that he dropped down dead by his side. The alarm being immediately spread through the village, a crowd of Indians assembled, and the murderer having seated himself on the ground by the side of the dead body, coolly awaited his fate, which he could not expect to be any other than immediate death, particularly as the cry of the people was "Kill him! Kill him!" But although he placed his body and his head in a proper posture to receive the stroke of the tomahawk, no one attempted to lay hands on him; but after removing the dead body from where it lay, they left him alone. Not meeting here with his expected fate, he rose from this place for a more public part of the village, and there lay down on the ground, in the hope of being the sooner despatched; but the spectators, after viewing him, all retired again. Sensible that his life was justly forfeited, and anxious to be relieved from a state of suspense, he took the resolution to go to the mother of the deceased, an aged widow, whom he addressed in these words: "Woman, I

“ have killed thy son; he had insulted me, it is true; “ but still he was thine, and his life was valuable to “ thee. I, therefore, now surrender myself up to “ thy will. Direct as thou wilt have it, and relieve “ me speedily from misery.” To which the woman answered: “ Thou hast, indeed, killed my son, who “ was dear to me, and the only supporter I had in “ my old age. One life is already lost, and to take “ thine on that account, cannot be of any service to “ me, nor better my situation. Thou hast, however, “ a son, whom if thou wilt give me in the place of “ my son whom thou hast slain, all shall be wiped “ away.” The murderer then replied: “ Mother, “ my son is yet but a child, ten years old, and can “ be of no service to thee, but rather a trouble and “ charge; but here am I, truly capable of supporting “ and maintaining thee: if thou wilt receive me as “ thy son, nothing shall be wanting on my part to “ make thee comfortable while thou livest.” The woman, approving of the proposal, forthwith adopted him as her son, and took the whole family to her house.—HECKEWELDER.

FORBEARANCE OF TEMPER IN ACCIDENTAL MISFORTUNES.

They judge with calmness on all occasions, and decide with precision, or endeavour to do so, between an accident and a wilful act;—the *first* (they say) they are all liable to commit, and therefore it ought not to be noticed, or punished;—the *second* being a wilful or premeditated act, committed with

a bad design, ought on the contrary to receive due punishment.

To illustrate this subject, I shall relate a few of the cases of this description which have come within my knowledge. One morning early, an Indian came into the house of another who was yet a-bed, asking for the loan of his gun for a morning hunt, his own being out of repair. The owner readily consented, and said: "As my gun is not loaded, you will have "to take a few balls out of your pouch!" In taking the gun down, it, however, by some accident went off, and lodged the contents in the owner's head, who was still lying on the bed, and now expired. The gun, it appeared, was loaded, though unknown to him, and the lock left in such condition that by a touch it went off. A cry was heard from all sides in the house: "O! the *accident!*" for such it was always considered to have been, and was treated as such.

A hunter went out to kill a bear, some of those animals having been seen in the neighbourhood. In an obscure part of a wood, he saw at a distance something black moving, which he took for a bear, the whole of the animal not being visible to him; he fired, and found he had shot a black horse. Having discovered the mistake, he informed the owner of what had happened, expressing at the same time his regret that he was not possessed of a single horse, with which he could replace the one he had shot. What! replied the Indian whose horse had been killed, do you think I would accept a horse from

you, though you had one to give, after you have satisfied me that you killed mine *by accident*? No, indeed! for the same misfortune might also happen to me.

An aged Indian who had gone out to shoot a turkey, mistook a black hog in the bushes for one of those birds, and shot him; finding out by inquiry to whom the hog belonged, he informed the owner of the mistake he had made, offering to pay for the hog; which the other, however, not only would not accept of, but having brought the meat in, gave him a leg of the animal, because he thought that the unfortunate man, as well on account of his disappointment, in not feasting on turkey as he expected soon to do when he shot the hog, as for his honesty in informing of what he had done, was *entitled* to a share of what he had killed.

Two Indians with a large canoe, going down the Muskingum river to a certain distance, were accosted by others going by land to the same place, who requested them to take their heavy articles, as kettles, axes, hoes, &c., into their canoe, which they freely did, but unfortunately were shipwrecked at the rocks of White Eyes's falls (as the place is called,) where the whole cargo was lost, and the men saved themselves by swimming to the shore. The question being put and fully discussed, whether those men with the canoe, who had taken charge of the property of the others, and by this neglect lost the whole, were not liable to pay for the loss? It was decided in the negative, on the following grounds:—

1. That the canoe men had taken the articles on board, with the pleasing hope that they thereby would oblige their fellow men, and did not expect any recompense for that service.

2. That although they might have avoided the danger and the loss, by unloading the canoe at the head of the fall, and carrying the cargo by land below it, (which was but a short distance,) as was customary, when the river was not in a proper state to run through, yet that, had those who travelled by land been in the place of those in the canoe, they might, like them, have attempted to have run through, as is sometimes done with success, and been equally unfortunate.

3. That the canoe men having had all their own property on board, which was all lost at the same time, and was equally valuable to them, it was clear that they had expected to run safely through, and could not have intentionally or designedly brought on themselves and others the misfortune which had happened, and therefore the circumstance must be ascribed entirely to *accident*.—HECKEWELDER.

MATRIMONY AND DIVORCE.

Had the following anecdote being in existence in the time of our great poet Milton, would he not have translated it into his high style, and given it a place in his treatise on the “Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce?” One can easily conceive how he would have chuckled over such a thing in the midst of the bitterness (caused by his wife’s misconduct,) with

which he sat down to compose his “Tetrachordon,” and other tracts on the subject. B.

An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much of his time among the white people both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, one day about the year 1770 observed, that the Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but were also more certain of getting a *good* one; “For,” (said he in his broken English,) “White man court,—court,—may be one whole year!—may be two years before he marry!—well!—may be then got *very good* wife—but may be *not*!—may be *very* cross!—Well now, suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in the morning! scold all day! scold until sleep!—all one; he must keep *him**! “White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be *he* ever so cross! must keep *him* always! “Well! how does Indian do?—Indian when he see industrious Squaw, which he like, he go to *him*, place his two forefingers close aside each other, make two look like one—look Squaw in the face —see *him* smile—which is all one *he* says, *Yes*! “so he take *him* home—no danger *he* be cross! no! no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if *he* cross!—throw *him* away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband! no meat! Squaw do every thing to please husband! he do the same to please Squaw! live happy!”—HECKEWELDER.

* The pronouns in the Indian language have no feminine gender.

PRIDE.

This passion of the Indians, which I have called *pride*, but which might, perhaps, be better denominated *high-mindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind. I am now going to relate an instance of this honourable pride, which I have also witnessed. An Indian of the Lenape nation, who was considered as a very dangerous person, and was much dreaded on that account, had publicly declared that as soon as another Indian, who was then gone to Sandusky, should return from thence, he would certainly kill him. This dangerous Indian called in one day at my house on the Muskingum to ask me for some tobacco. While this unwelcome guest was smoking his pipe by my fire, behold! the other Indian whom he had threatened to kill, and who at that moment had just arrived, also entered the house. I was much frightened, as I feared the bad Indian would take that opportunity to carry his threat into execution, and that my house would be made the scene of a horrid murder. I walked to the door, in order not to witness a crime that I could not prevent, when to my great astonishment I heard the Indian whom I thought in danger, address the other in these words: “Uncle, you have threatened to kill me—you have declared that you would do it the first time we should meet. Now I am here, and we are together. Am I to take it for granted that you are in earnest, and

“ that you are really determined to take my life as
“ you have declared? Am I now to consider you
“ as my avowed enemy, and in order to secure my
“ own life against your murderous designs, to be
“ the first to strike you and embrue my hands in
“ your blood?—I will not, I cannot do it. Your
“ heart is bad, it is true, but still you appear to be
“ a generous foe, for you gave me notice of what
“ you intended to do; you have put me on my guard,
“ and did not attempt to assassinate me by surprise;
“ I, therefore, will spare you until you lift up your
“ arm to strike, and then, uncle, it will be seen
“ which of us shall fall!” The murderer was thunderstruck, and without replying a word, slunk off and left the house.

The next anecdote will display an act of heroism produced by this elevation of mind which I have called *pride*, which, perhaps, may have been equalled, but, I dare say, was hardly ever surpassed. In the spring of the year 1782, the war chief of the Wyandots of Lower Sandusky sent a white prisoner (a young man whom he had taken at Fort M'Intosh) as a present to another chief, who was called the *Half-king* of Upper Sandusky, for the purpose of being adopted into his family, in the place of one of his sons, who had been killed the preceding year, while at war with the people on the Ohio. The prisoner arrived, and was presented to the Half-king's wife, but she refused to receive him, which, according to the Indian rule, was, in fact, a sentence of death. The young man was, therefore, taken away,

for the purpose of being tortured and burnt on the pile. While the dreadful preparations were making near the village, the unhappy victim being already tied to the stake, and the Indians arriving from all quarters to join in the cruel act or to witness it, two English traders, Messrs. *Arundel* and *Robbins*, (I delight in making this honourable mention of their names,) shocked at the idea of the cruelties which were about to be perpetrated, and moved by feelings of pity and humanity, resolved to unite their exertions to endeavour to save the prisoner's life by offering a ransom to the war chief, which he, however refused, because, said he, it was an established rule among them, that when a prisoner who had been given as a present, was refused adoption, he was irrevocably doomed to the stake, and it was not in the power of any one to save his life. Besides, added he, the numerous war captains who were on the spot, had it in charge to see the sentence carried into execution. The two generous Englishmen, however, were not discouraged, and determined to try a last effort. They well knew what effects the high-minded pride of an Indian was capable of producing, and to this strong and noble passion they directed their attacks: "But," said they, in reply to the answer which the chief had made them, "among all those chiefs whom you have mentioned, there is none who equals you in greatness; you are considered not only as the greatest and bravest, but as the best man in the nation." "Do you really believe what you say?" said at once

the Indian, looking them full in the face. “Indeed “we do.” Then, without saying another word, he blackened himself, and taking his knife and tomohawk in his hand, made his way through the crowd to the unhappy victim, crying out with a loud voice: “What have you to do with *my* prisoner?” and at once cutting the cords with which he was tied, took him to his house which was near Mr. Arundel’s, whence he was forthwith secured and carried off by safe hands to Detroit, where the commandant, being informed of the transaction, sent him by water to Niagara, where he was soon afterwards liberated. The Indians who witnessed this act, said that it was truly heroic; they were so confounded by the unexpected conduct of this chief, and by his manly and resolute appearance, that they had not time to reflect upon what they should do, and before their astonishment was well over, the prisoner was out of their reach.—HECKEWELDER.

MARVELLOUS SAGACITY IN TRACING FOOTSTEPS.

It is certain that the Indians, by the prints of the feet and by other marks and signs perceivable only to themselves, can readily discover, not only that men have passed through a particular path or line of march, but they can discriminate to what particular nation those men belong, and whether they are their friends or their enemies. They also sometimes make discoveries by examining obscure places, and by that means get informed of an enemy’s design. Nay, there are those among them who pretend to

be able to discriminate among various marks of human footsteps the different nations of those to whom they respectively belong. I shall not undertake to assert thus far, but I shall relate an anecdote, the truth of which I firmly believe, in proof of their extraordinary sagacity in this respect.

In the beginning of the summer of the year 1755, a most atrocious and shocking murder was unexpectedly committed by a party of Indians, on fourteen white settlers within five miles of Shamokin. The surviving whites, in their rage, determined to take their revenge by murdering a Delaware Indian, who happened to be in those parts and was far from thinking himself in any danger. He was a great friend to the whites, was loved and esteemed by them, and in testimony of their regard, had received from them the name of *Duke Holland*, by which he was generally known. This Indian, satisfied that his nation was incapable of committing such a foul murder in a time of profound peace, told the enraged settlers, that he was sure that the Delawares were not in any manner concerned in it, and that it was the act of some wicked Mingoes or Iroquois, whose custom it was to involve other nations in wars with each other, by clandestinely committing murders, so that they might be laid to the charge of others than themselves. But all his representations were vain; he could not convince exasperated men whose minds were fully bent upon revenge. At last, he offered that if they would give him a party to accompany him, he would go with them in quest of the

murderers, and was sure he could discover them by the prints of their feet and other marks well known to him, by which he would convince them that the real perpetrators of the crime belonged to the Six Nations. His proposal was accepted; he marched at the head of a party of whites and led them into the tracks. They soon found themselves in the most rocky parts of a mountain, where not one of those who accompanied him was able to discover a single track, nor would they believe that man had ever trodden upon this ground, as they had to jump over a number of crevices between the rocks, and in some instances to crawl over them. Now they began to believe that the Indian had led them across those rugged mountains in order to give the enemy time to escape, and threatened him with instant death the moment they should be fully convinced of the fraud. The Indian, true to his promise, would take pains to make them perceive that an enemy had passed along the places through which he was leading them; here he would shew them that the moss on the rock had been trodden down by the weight of a human foot, there that it had been torn and dragged forward from its place; further he would point out to them that pebbles or small stones on the rocks had been removed from their beds by the foot hitting against them, that dry sticks by being trodden upon were broken, and even that in a particular place, an Indian's blanket had being dragged over the rocks, and removed or loosened the leaves lying there, so that they lay no more flat as in other places; all

which the Indian could perceive as he walked along, without even stopping. At last arriving at the foot of the mountain on soft ground, where the tracks were deep, he found out that the enemy were eight in number, and from the freshness of the foot prints, he concluded that they must be encamped at no great distance. This proved to be the exact truth, for after gaining the eminence on the other side of the valley, the Indians were seen encamped, some having already laid down to sleep, while others were drawing off their *leggings** for the same purpose, and the scalps they had taken were hanging up to dry. "See!" said Duke Holland to his astonished companions, "there is the enemy! not of my nation, but Mingoes, as I truly told you. They are in our power; in less than half an hour they will all be fast asleep. We need not fire a gun, but go up and tomohawk them. We are nearly two to one, and need apprehend no danger. Come on, and you will now have your full revenge!" But the whites, overcome with fear, did not choose to follow the Indian's advice, and urged him to take them back by the nearest and best way, which he did, and when they arrived at home late at night, they reported the number of the Iroquois to have been so great, that they durst not venture to attack them.

This account is faithfully given as I received it from Duke Holland himself, and took it down in

* Indian stockings

writing at the time. I had been acquainted with this Indian for upwards of twenty years, and knew him to be honest, intelligent, and a lover of truth. Therefore I gave full credit to what he told me, and as yet have had no reason to disbelieve or even to doubt it. I once employed him to save the life of a respectable gentleman, now residing at Pittsburg, who was in imminent danger of being killed by a war party. Duke Holland conducted him safely through the woods, from the Muskingum to the Ohio settlement. He once found a watch of mine, which had been sent to me from Pittsburg by a man who had got drunk, and lost it in the woods about fifty miles from the place where I lived. Duke Holland went in search of it, and having discovered the tracks of the man to whom it had been intrusted, he pursued them until he found the lost article, which he delivered to me.—HECKEWELDER.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

Much has been said on the subject of the preliminary cruelties inflicted on prisoners, when they enter an Indian village with the conquering warriors. It is certain that this treatment is very severe when a particular revenge is to be exercised ; but otherwise, I can say with truth, that in many instances, it is rather a scene of amusement, than a punishment. Much depends on the courage and presence of mind of the prisoner. On entering the village, he is shewn a painted post at the distance of from twenty to forty yards, and told to run to it and catch hold of it as

quickly as he can. On each side of him stand men, women and children, with axes, sticks, and other offensive weapons, ready to strike him as he runs, in the same manner as is done in the European armies when soldiers, as it is called, run the gauntlet. If he should be so unlucky as to fall in the way, he will probably be immediately despatched by some person, longing to avenge the death of some relation or friend slain in battle; but the moment he reaches the goal, he is safe and protected from further insult until his fate is determined.

If a prisoner in such a situation shews a determined courage, and when bid to run for the painted post, starts at once with all his might, and exerts all his strength and agility until he reaches it, he will most commonly escape without much harm, and sometimes without any injury whatever, and on reaching the desired point, he will have the satisfaction to hear his courage and bravery applauded. But woe to the coward who hesitates, or shews any symptoms of fear! He is treated without much mercy, and is happy, at last, if he escapes with his life.

In the month of April 1782, when I was myself a prisoner at Lower Sandusky, waiting for an opportunity to proceed with a trader to Detroit, I witnessed a scene of this description which fully exemplified what I have above stated. Three American prisoners were one day brought in by fourteen warriors from the garrison of Fort M'Intosh. As soon as they had crossed the Sandusky river to

which the village lay adjacent, they were told by the Captain of the party to run as hard as they could to a painted post which was shewn to them. The youngest of the three, without a moment's hesitation, immediately started for it, and reached it fortunately without receiving a single blow; the second hesitated for a moment, but recollecting himself, he also ran as fast as he could and likewise reached the post unhurt; but the third, frightened at seeing so many men, women and children with weapons in their hands, ready to strike him, kept begging the Captain to spare his life, saying he was a mason, and he would build him a fine large stone house, or do any work for him that he should please. "Run for your life," cried the chief to him, "and don't talk now of building houses!" But the poor fellow still insisted, begging and praying to the Captain, who at last finding his exhortations vain, and fearing the consequences, turned his back upon him, and would not hear him any longer. Our mason now began to run, but received many a hard blow, one of which nearly brought him to the ground, which, if he had fallen, would at once have decided his fate. He, however, reached the goal, not without being sadly bruised, and he was besides, bitterly reproached and scoffed at all round as a vile coward, while the others were hailed as brave men, and received tokens of universal approbation.—HECKEWELDER.

CIVILIZED INDIAN GUILTY OF FORGERY.

The following are curious documents concerning the above fact. They are now first printed from the originals in my possession. There is something very simple and touching in the memorial of the Chiefs; but the letter of the offender himself is rather too canting. Education seems in his instance, to have obliterated every atom of real and native eloquence. It is to be hoped that he was sincere in his contrition; but real shame and sorrow seldom seek for fine phrases; and poor Josiah, it must be acknowledged, expresses himself too much like a Milliner's apprentice who had been studying the "Complete Letter Writer." The penmanship is in a plain, strong hand. I have had the letter printed without any alteration whatever in either spelling or punctuation. B.

*To his Excellency De Witt Clinton, Governor of the
State of New York.*

The memorial and petition of the undersigned Chiefs Peace makers and warriors of the Muhhi-connuk or Stockbridge Tribe of Indians humbly representeth :

That whereas a certain young man of our Tribe by the name of *Josiah W. Andrew* had committed a forgery about one year ago last March, and was sentenced to the State's Prison at Auburn for the term of five years. And we have thought it was our duty to write few lines to your Excellency on his behalf. Be it known to your Excellency that it is

well known to all our Tribe, that previous to the crime for which said *Josiah* was committed, he had always maintained a good character, and was considered by the nation to be a good meaning, innocent, and inoffensive young man, and was never known to be guilty of any heinous crime, only that he was subject to intemperate habits, which finally brought him to the place where he is now in confinement. The said *Josiah*, has an aged and poor father who is very infirm, and wishes to see his son in order to have his help and to comfort him in his declining years, as he has no other son or daughter in this country to render him any assistance.

We therefore hope and pray your Excellency will condescend to have the goodness to pardon the said poor *Josiah*, as we have reason to believe that he will reform if he will be restored to society once more. And we believe he has already reformed by the information we have received from him.

This is the desire of the whole of our nation, and hope that your Excellency will hear us and grant us our request.

Done in a general Council, at New Stockbridge, this 16th day of January, 1821.

Hendrick Aupaumut,
Jacob Kunkopot,*
Solomon Q. Henduik,
Abner W. Hendrick,
Abram Man-maun-teth-e-con
John W. Quinney,
Abram Pie,
Solomon U. Hendrick, Clk.
Thomas J. Hendrick,
William Tompson.

Isaac Littleman,
Elisha Konkapot,
John Littleman,
John Baldwin,
Cornelius Aaron,
Thomas Palmer
Harry Aaron,
Jacob Cheekthauron,
Francis P. Aaron,

In behalf of the Tribe.

Auburn, December 24th, 1820.

MR. SARGENT SIR,

I embrace this opportunity of conversing with you by way of writing to inform you of my health which is as good as I can expect, confined as I am within the walls of this dreary and cold prison whilst I hope you and yours enjoy the blessing and at your liberties which is the greatest blessing that mortals can enjoy in this vain and delusive world but alas that bounty I have violated that fatal deed which my heart bleeds when I reflect but I am determined if ever I can again be restored to my former enjoyments that I will put a double restraint on my conduct and never again violate the laws of my country Mr. Sargent I hope you will be so good as to see my friends and will endeavor with them to assist me this once to my liberty for which favour I shall ever consider myself under the greatest obligations—consider me sir as a mortal liable to the frowns of fortune for we are none of us exempt I hope you will not leave me to linger out my few remaining years in this wretched abode I once more intreat you to have compassion on me as you expect mercy of your creator for each of us as mortals have kneed of mercy from that divine being—I wish sir you would see my father and see what has been the cause of my never receiving any word from him as I never have received any word from him since I was first arrested ask him sir if he considers me dead because I have

once done wrong tell him his erring son is yet alive and earnestly solicits your pardon and a pardon from the government against which he has offended I hope he with your assistance will soon restore me to my liberty and my future good conduct shall apologise for the past do not neglect me sir for I am heartily sorry for my fault

Mr. Sargent I hope you will send me an answer as soon as you receive this give my love to my cousin Jacob Chicks and his family with all inquiring friends

This from your unhappy but sincere friend

JOSIAH W. ANDREW.

*To the Rev. John Sargent,
Vernon, County Oneida,
N. York.*

(with speed.)

ATTACHMENT TO THE MEMORY OF DECEASED FRIENDS.

A distinguished Oneida Chief named Skenandou, having yielded to the teaching of his minister, (the Rev. Mr. Kirkland,) and lived a reformed man for fifty years, said, in his 120th year, just before he died, "I am an aged hemlock. The winds of one hundred years have whistled through my branches. I am dead at the top." (He was blind.) "Why I yet live, the great good Spirit only knows. Pray to my Jesus that I may wait with patience my appointed time to die; and when I die, lay me by the side of my minister and father, that I may go up with him at the great resurrection."

METHOD OF WRITING.

The Indian writing consists of figures or hieroglyphics ; and the following anecdote will shew that sometimes it is very much to the purpose : A white man in the Indian country, met a Shawanos riding a horse which he affected to recognise for his own, and claimed it from him as his property. The Indian calmly answered “ Friend ! after a little while, I “ will call on you at your house, when we shall talk “ of this matter.” A few days afterwards, the Indian came to the white man’s house, who insisting on having his horse restored, the other then told him : “ Friend ! the horse which you claim belonged “ to my uncle who lately died ; according to the “ Indian custom, I have become heir to all his “ property.” The white man not being satisfied, and renewing his demand, the Indian immediately took a coal from the fire-place, and made two striking figures on the door of the house, the one representing the white man taking the horse, and the other, himself, in the act of scalping him ; then he coolly asked the trembling claimant “ whether he could read this Indian writing ? ” The matter thus was settled at once, and the Indian rode off.--HECKEWELDER.

CONSTANCY OF AN INDIAN GIRL.

In passing thro’ Lake Pepin our interpreter pointed out to us a high precipice, on the east shore of the lake, from which an Indian girl, of the Sioux

nation, had, many years ago, precipitated herself in a fit of disappointed love. She had given her heart, it appears, to a young chief of her own tribe, who was very much attached to her, but the alliance was opposed by her parents, who wished her to marry an old chief, renowned for his wisdom and influence in the nation. As the union was insisted upon, and no other way appearing to avoid it, she determined to sacrifice her life in preference to a violation of her former vow ; and while the preparations for the marriage feast were going forward, left her father's cabin, without exciting suspicion, and before she could be overtaken threw herself from an awful precipice, and was instantly dashed to a thousand pieces. Such an instance of sentiment is rarely to be met with among barbarians, and should redeem the name of this noble-minded girl from oblivion. It was Oo-la-i-ta.—*Schoolcraft's Journal*.

BELIEF IN THE UNDERSTANDING OF BEASTS.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation ; and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority ; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man ; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion

which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of which they are the head, whom they are appointed, indeed, to govern, but between whom and themselves intimate ties of connexion and relationship may exist, or at least, did exist in the beginning of time. They are, in fact, according to their opinions, only the first among equals, the legitimate hereditary sovereigns of the whole animated race, of which they are themselves a constituent part. Hence, in their languages, those inflections of their nouns which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, descriptive of the *masculine* and *feminine* species, but of the *animate* and *inanimate* kinds. Indeed, they go so far as to include trees and plants within the first of these descriptions. All animated nature, in whatever degree, is in their eyes a great whole, from which they have not yet ventured to separate themselves. They do not exclude other animals from their world of spirits, the place to which they expect to go after death.

I find it difficult to express myself clearly on this abstruse subject, which, perhaps, the Indians themselves do not very well understand, as they have no metaphysicians among them to analyze their vague notions, and perhaps confuse them still more. But I can illustrate what I have said by some characteristic anecdotes.

The Indian includes all savage beasts within the number of his *enemies*. This is by no means a metaphorical or figurative expression, but is used in a literal sense, as will appear from what I am going to relate.

A Delaware hunter once shot a huge bear and broke its back bone. The animal fell and set up a most plaintive cry, something like that of the panther when he is hungry. The hunter, instead of giving him another shot, stood up close to him, and addressed him in these words: "Hark ye! bear; "you are a coward, and no warrior as you pretend "to be. Were you a warrior, you would shew it "by your firmness, and not cry and whimper like an "old woman. You know, bear, that our tribes are "at war with each other, and that yours was the "aggressor*. You have found the Indians too "powerful for you, and you have gone sneaking "about in the woods, stealing their hogs; perhaps "at this time you have hog's flesh in your belly. "Had you conquered me, I would have borne it "with courage and died like a brave warrior; but "you, bear, sit here and cry, and disgrace your "tribe by your cowardly conduct." I was present at the delivery of this curious invective; when the hunter had despatched the bear, I asked him how

* Probably alluding to a tradition which the Indians have of a very ferocious kind of bear, called the *naked bear*, which they say once existed, but was totally destroyed by their ancestors. The last was killed in the New York state, at a place they called *Hoosink*, which means the *Basin*, or more properly the *Kettle*.

he thought the poor animal could understand what he said to it? "Oh!" said he in answer, "the bear understood me very well; did you not observe how *ashamed* he looked while I was upbraiding him?"

Another time I witnessed a similar scene between the falls of the Ohio and the river Wabash. A young white man, named *William Wells**, who had been when a boy taken prisoner by a tribe of the Wabash Indians, by whom he was brought up, and had imbibed all their notions, had so wounded a large bear that he could not move from the spot, and the animal cried piteously like the one I have just mentioned. The young man went up to him, and with seemingly great earnestness, addressed him in the Wabash language, now and then giving him a slight stroke on the nose with his ram-rod. I asked him, when he had done, what he had been saying to this bear? "I have," said he, "upbraided him for acting the part of a coward; I told him that he knew the fortune of war, that one or the other of us must have fallen; that it was his fate to be conquered, and he ought to die like a man, like a hero, and not like an old woman; that if the case had been reversed, and I had fallen into the power of my *enemy*, I would not have disgraced my nation as he did, but would have died with firmness and courage, as becomes a true warrior."—HECKEWELDER.

* The same whom Mr. de Volney speaks of in his excellent "View of the Soil and Climate of United States." Supplement, No. VI page 356. Philadelphia Edition, 1804.

SUICIDE.

Suicide is not considered by the Indians either as an act of heroism or of cowardice, nor is it with them a subject of praise or blame. They view this desperate act as the consequence of mental derangement, and the person who destroys himself is to them an object of pity. Such cases do not frequently occur. Between the years 1771 and 1780, four Indians of my acquaintance took the root of the may-apple, which is commonly used on such occasions, in order to poison themselves, in which they all succeeded, except one. Two of them were young men, who had been disappointed in love, the girls on whom they had fixed their choice, and to whom they were engaged, having changed their minds and married other lovers. They both put an end to their existence. The two others were married men. Their stories, as pictures of Indian manners, will not, perhaps, be thought uninteresting.

One of these unfortunate men was a person of an excellent character, respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He had a wife whom he was very fond of and two children, and they lived very happily together at the distance of about half a mile from the place where I resided. He often came to visit me, and as he was of a most amiable disposition, I was pleased with his visits, and always gave him a hearty welcome. When I thought he was too long without coming, I went myself to the delightful spot which he had judiciously selected for his dwelling.

Here I always found the family cheerful, sociable and happy, until some time before the fatal catastrophe happened, when I observed that my friend's countenance bore the marks of deep melancholy, of which I afterwards learned the cause. His wife had received the visits of another man ; he foresaw that he would soon be obliged to separate from her, and he shuddered when he thought that he must also part from his two lovely children ; for it is the custom of the Indians, that when a divorce takes place between husband and wife, the children remain with their mother, until they are of a proper age to choose for themselves. One hope, however, still remained. The sugar-making season was at hand, and they were shortly to remove to their sugar camp, where he flattered himself his wife would not be followed by the disturber of his peace, whose residence was about ten miles from thence. But this hope was of short duration. They had hardly been a fortnight in their new habitation, when, as he returned one day from a morning's hunt, he found the unwelcome visiter at his home, in close conversation with his faithless wife. This last stroke was more than he could bear ; without saying a single word, he took off a large cake of his sugar, and with it came to my house, which was at the distance of eight miles from his temporary residence. It was on a Sunday, at about ten o'clock in the forenoon, that he entered my door, with sorrow strongly depicted on his manly countenance. As he came in he presented me

with his cake of sugar, saying, "My friend! you have many a time served me with a good pipe of tobacco, and I have not yet done any thing to please you. Take this as a reward for your goodness, and as an acknowledgment from me as your friend." He said no more, but giving me with both his hands, a warm farewell squeeze, he departed and returned to the camp. At about two o'clock in the forenoon a runner from thence passing through the town to notify his death at the village two miles farther, informed us of the shocking event. He had immediately on his return, remained a short time in his house, indulging in the last caresses to his dear innocent children; then retiring to some distance, had eaten the fatal root, and before relief could be administered by some persons who had observed him staggering from the other side of the river, he was on the point of expiring, and all succours were vain.

The last whom I have to mention, was also a married man, but had no children. He had lived happy with his wife, until one day that she fell into a passion and made use to him of such abusive language as he could not endure. Too high-minded to quarrel with a woman, he resolved to punish her by putting an end to his existence. Fortunately he was seen in the first stage of his fits, and was brought into a house, where a strong emetic diluted in lukewarm water, was forcibly poured down his throat. He recovered after some time, but never was again the strong healthy man he had been

before ; his wife however, took warning from this desperate act, and behaved better ever after.—
HECKEWELDER.

DRUNKENNESS.

An Indian who had been born and brought up at Minisink, near the Delaware Water Gap, and to whom the German inhabitants of that neighbourhood had given the name of *Cornelius Rosenbaum*, told me near fifty years ago, that he had once, when under the influence of strong liquor, killed the best Indian friend he had, fancying him to be his worst avowed enemy. He said that the deception was complete, and that while intoxicated, the face of his friend presented to his eyes all the features of the man with whom he was in a state of hostility. It is impossible to express the horror with which he was struck when he awoke from that delusion ; he was so shocked, that he from that moment resolved never more to taste of the maddening poison, of which he was convinced that the devil was the inventor ; for it could only be the evil spirit who made him see his enemy when his friend was before him, and produced so strong a delusion on his bewildered senses, that he actually killed him. From that time until his death, which happened thirty years afterwards, he never drank a drop of ardent spirits, which he always called “ the Devil’s blood,” and was firmly persuaded that the Devil, or some of his inferior spirits, had a hand in preparing it.

Once in my travels, I fell in with an Indian and his son; the former, though not addicted to drinking, had this time drunk some liquor with one of his acquaintances, of which he now felt the effects. As he was walking before me, along the path, he at once flew back and aside, calling out "O! what a monstrous snake!" On my asking him where the snake lay, he pointed to something and said "Why, there, across the path!" "A snake!" said I, "it is nothing but a black-burnt sapling, which has fallen on the ground." He, however, would not be persuaded; he insisted that it was a snake, and could be nothing else; therefore, to avoid it, he went round the path, and entered it again at some distance further. After we had travelled together for about two hours, during which time he spoke but little, we encamped for the night. Awaking about midnight, I saw him sitting up smoking his pipe, and appearing to be in deep thought. I asked him why he did not lay down and sleep? To which he replied, "O my friend! many things have crowded on my mind; I am quite lost in thought!"

Heckew.—"And what are you thinking about?"

Indian.—"Did you say it was not a snake of which I was afraid, and which lay across the path?"

Heckew.—"I did say so; and, indeed, it was nothing else but a sapling burnt black by the firing of the woods."

Indian.—"Are you sure it was that?"

Heckew.—"Yes; and I called to you at the time to look, how I was standing on it; and if you have

“ yet a doubt, ask your son, and the two Indians
“ with me, and they will tell you the same.”

Indian,—“ O strange ! and I took it for an uncom-
“ monly large snake, moving as if it intended to
“ bite me !—I cannot get over my surprise, that the
“ liquor I drank, and, indeed, that was not much,
“ should have so deceived me ! but I think I have
“ now discovered how it happens that Indians so
“ often kill one another when drunk, almost without
“ knowing what they are doing ; and when after-
“ wards they are told of what they have done, they
“ ascribe it to the liquor which was in them at the
“ time, and say the liquor did it. I have thought
“ that as I saw this time a living snake in a dead
“ piece of wood, so I might, at another time, take
“ a human being, perhaps one of my own family, for
“ a bear or some other ferocious beast and kill him.
“ Can you, my friend, tell me what is in the *beson**
“ that confuses one so, and transforms things in that
“ manner ? Is it an invisible spirit ? It must be
“ something alive ; or have the white people sorcer-
“ ers among them, who put something in the liquor
“ to deceive those who drink it ? Do the white peo-
“ ple drink of the same liquor that they give to the
“ Indians ? Do they also, when drunk, kill people,
“ and bite noses off, as the Indians do ? Who taught
“ the white people to make so pernicious a *beson* ?”

I answered all these questions, and several others
that he put to me, in the best manner that I could,

* This word means *liquor*, and is also used in the sense of a medicinal draught, or other compound potion.

to which he replied, and our conversation continued as follows :

Indian,—" Well, if, as you say, the bad spirit can-
" not be the inventor of this liquor ; if, in some cases
" it is moderately used among you as a medicine,
" and if your doctors can prepare from it, or with
" the help of a little of it, some salutary *besons*, still,
" I must believe that when it operates as you have
" seen, the bad spirit must have some hand in it,
" either by putting some bad thing into it, unknown
" to those who prepare it, or you have conjurers who
" understand how to bewitch it.—Perhaps they only
" do so to that which is for the Indians ; for the devil
" is not the Indians' friend, because they will not
" worship him, as they do the good spirit, and there-
" fore I believe he puts something into the *beson*, for
" the purpose of destroying them."

Heckew.—" What the devil may do with the liquor
" I cannot tell ; but I believe that he has a hand in
" every thing that is bad. When the Indians kill
" one another, bite off each other's noses, or com-
" mit such wicked acts, he is undoubtedly well satis-
" fied ; for, as God himself has said, he is a destroyer
" and a murderer."

Indian,—" Well, now, we think alike, and hence-
" forth he shall never again deceive me, or entice
" me to drink his *beson*."

In the year 1769, an Indian from Susquehannah hav-
ing come to Bethlehem with his sons to dispose of
his peltry, was accosted by a trader from a neighbour-
ing town, who addressed him thus : " Well ! Thomas,

“ I really believe you have turned Moravian.” “ Mo-
“ ravian !” answered the Indian, “ what makes you
“ think so ?”—“ Because,” replied the other, “ you
“ used to come to us to sell your skins and peltry,
“ and now you trade them away to the Moravians.”
“ So !” rejoined the Indian, “ now I understand you
“ well, and I know what you mean to say. Now
“ hear me.—See, my friend ! when I come to this
“ place with my skins and peltry to trade, the peo-
“ ple are kind, they give me plenty of good victuals
“ to eat, and pay me in money or whatever I want,
“ and no one says a word to me about drinking
“ rum—neither do I ask for it ! When I come to
“ your place with my peltry, all call to me : ‘ Come,
“ Thomas ! here’s rum, drink heartily, drink ! it will
“ not hurt you.’ All this is done for the purpose of
“ cheating me. When you have obtained from me
“ all you want, you call me a drunken dog, and kick
“ me out of the room.—See ! this is the manner in
“ which you cheat the Indians when they come to
“ trade with you. So now you know when you see
“ me coming to your town again, you may say to
“ one another : ‘ Ah ! there is Thomas coming again !
“ he is no longer a Moravian, for he is coming to us
“ to be made drunk—to be cheated—to be kicked
“ out of the house, and be called a *drunken dog* ! ’ ”—

HECKEWELDER.

FRIENDSHIP.

In the year 1779, the noted Girty with his murdering party of Mingoes, nine in number, fell in

with the Missionary Zeisberger, on the path leading from Goschacking to Gnadenhiitten; their design was to take that worthy man prisoner, and if they could not seize him alive, to murder him and take his scalp to Detroit. They were on the point of laying hold of him, when two young spirited Delawares providentially entered the path at that critical moment, and in an instant presented themselves to defend the good Missionary at the risk of their lives. Their determined conduct had the desired success, and his life was saved. His deliverers afterwards declared that they had no other motive for thus exposing themselves for his sake, than that he was a friend to their nation and was considered by them as a good man.

In the year 1777, while the revolutionary war was raging, and several Indian tribes had enlisted on the British side, and were spreading murder and devastation along our unprotected frontier, I rather rashly determined to take a journey into the country on a visit to my friends. Captain White Eyes, an Indian chief, resided at that time at the distance of seventeen miles from the place where I lived. Hearing of my determination, he immediately hurried up to me, with his friend Captain Wingenund, (whom I shall presently have occasion further to mention) and some of his young men, for the purpose of escorting me to Pittsburg, saying, "that he would not suffer me, to go, while the Sandusky warriors were out on war excursions, without a proper escort and *himself* at my side." He insisted on

accompanying me, and we set out together. One day, as we were proceeding along, our spies discovered a suspicious track. White Eyes, who was riding before me, inquired whether I felt afraid? I answered that while he was with me, I entertained no fear. On this he immediately replied, "You are right; for until I am laid prostrate at your feet, no one shall hurt you." "And even not then," added Wingenund, who was riding behind me; "before this happens, I must be also overcome, and lay by the side of our friend *Koguethagechton**." I believed them, and I believe at this day that these great men were sincere, and that if they had been put to the test, they would have shewn it, as did another Indian friend by whom my life was saved in the spring of the year 1781. From behind a log in the bushes where he was concealed, he espied a hostile Indian at the very moment he was levelling his piece at me. Quick as lightning he jumped between us, and exposed his person to the musket shot just about to be fired, when fortunately the aggressor desisted, from fear of hitting the Indian, whose body thus effectually protected me, at the imminent risk of his own life. Captain White Eyes, in the year 1774, saved in the same manner the life of David Duncan, the peace-messenger, whom he was escorting. He rushed, regardless of his own life, up to an inimical Shawanese, who was aiming at our ambassador from behind a bush, and forced him to desist.

* The Indian name of Capt. White Eyes.

In the year 1782, a settlement of Christian Indians on the Sandusky river, were cruelly murdered by a gang of banditti, under the command of one Williamson. Not satisfied with this horrid outrage, the same band, not long afterwards marched to Sandusky, where it seems they had been informed that the remainder of that unfortunate congregation had fled, in order to perpetrate upon them the same indiscriminate murder. But Providence had so ordered it that they had before left that place, where they had found that they could not remain in safety, their ministers having been taken from them and carried to Detroit by order of the British government, so that they had been left entirely unprotected. The murderers, on their arrival, were much disappointed in finding nothing but empty huts. They then shaped their course towards the hostile Indian villages, where being, contrary to their expectations, furiously attacked, Williamson and his band took the advantage of a dark night and ran off, and the whole party escaped, except one Colonel Crawford and another, who being taken by the Indians, were carried in triumph to their village, where the former was condemned to death by torture, and the punishment was inflicted with all the cruelty that rage could invent. The latter was demanded by the Shawanese and sent to them for punishment.

While preparations were making for the execution of this dreadful sentence, the unfortunate Crawford recollected that the Delaware chief Wingenund*,

* This name, according to the English orthography, should be written

of whom I have spoken in the beginning of this chapter, had been his friend in happier times; he had several times entertained him at his house, and shewed him those marks of attention which are so grateful to the poor despised Indians. A ray of hope darted through his soul, and he requested that Wingenund, who lived at some distance from the village, might be sent for. His request was granted, and a messenger was despatched for the chief, who, reluctantly, indeed, but without hesitation, obeyed the summons, and immediately came to the fatal spot.

This great and good man was not only one of the bravest and most celebrated warriors, but one of the most amiable men of the Delaware nation. To a firm undaunted mind, he joined humanity, kindness and universal benevolence; the excellent qualities of his heart had obtained for him the name of *Wingenund* which in the Lenape language signifies *the well beloved*. He had kept away from the tragical scene about to be acted, to mourn in silence and solitude over the fate of his guilty friend, which he well knew it was not in his power to prevent. He was now called upon to act a painful as well as difficult part: the eyes of his enraged countrymen were fixed upon him; he was an Indian and a Delaware; he was a leader of that nation, whose defenceless members had been so cruelly murdered without distinction of age or sex, and whose innocent blood

Winganoond or *Wingaynoond*, the second syllable accented and long, and the last syllable short.

called aloud for the most signal revenge. Could he take the part of a chief of the base murderers? Could he forget altogether the feelings of ancient fellowship and give way exclusively to those of the Indian and the patriot? Fully sensible that in the situation in which he was placed the latter must, in appearance, at least, predominate, he summoned to his aid the firmness and dignity of an Indian warrior, approached Colonel Crawford and waited in silence for the communications he had to make. The following dialogue now took place between them :

Crawf.—Do you recollect me, Wingenund?

Wingen.—I believe I do; are you not Colonel Crawford?

Crawf.—I am. How do you do? I am glad to see you, Captain.

Wingen.—(embarrassed) So! yes, indeed.

Crawf.—Do you recollect the friendship that always existed between us, and that we were always glad to see each other?

Wingen.—I recollect all this. I remember that we have drunk many a bowl of punch together. I remember also other acts of kindness that you have done me.

Crawf.—Then I hope the same friendship still subsists between us.

Wingen.—It would, of course, be the same, were you in your proper place and not here.

Crawf.—And why not here, Captain? I hope you would not desert a friend in time of need. Now is the time for you to exert yourself in my behalf, as I could do for you, were you in my place.

Wingen.—Colonel Crawford! you have placed yourself in a situation which puts it out of my power and that of others of your friends to do any thing for you.

Crawf.—How so, Captain Wingenund?

Wingen.—By joining yourself to that execrable man, Williamson and his party; the man, who, but the other day murdered such a number of the Moravian Indians, knowing them to be friends; knowing that he ran no risk in murdering a people who would not fight, and whose only business was praying.

Crawf.—Wingenund, I assure you, that had I been with him at the time, this would not have happened; not I alone, but all your friends and all good men, wherever they are, reprobate acts of this kind.

Wingen.—That may be; yet these friends, these good men did not prevent him from going out again, to kill the remainder of those inoffensive, yet *foolish* Moravian Indians! I say *foolish*, because they believed the whites in preference to us. We had often told them that they would be one day so treated by those people who called themselves their friends! We told them that there was no faith to be placed in what the white men said; that their fair promises were only intended to allure us, that they might the more easily kill us, as they have done many Indians before they killed these Moravians.

Crawf.—I am sorry to hear you speak thus; as to Williamson's going out again, when it was known that he was determined on it, I went out with him to prevent him from committing fresh murders.

Wingen.—This, Colonel, the Indians would not believe, were even I to tell them so.

Crawf.—And why would they not believe it?

Wingen.—Because it would have been out of your power to prevent his doing what he pleased.

Crawf.—Out of my power! Have any Moravian Indians been killed or hurt since we came out?

Wingen.—None; but you went first to their town, and finding it empty and deserted you turned on the path towards us. If you had been in search of warriors only, you would not have gone thither. Our spies watched you closely. They saw you while you were embodying yourselves on the other side of the Ohio; they saw you cross that river; they saw where you encamped at night; they saw you turn off from the path to the deserted Moravian town; they knew you were going out of your way; your steps were constantly watched, and you were suffered quietly to proceed until you reached the spot where you were attacked.

Crawf.—What do they intend to do with me? Can you tell me?

Wingen.—I tell you with grief, Colonel. As Williamson and his whole cowardly host ran off in the night, at the whistling of our warriors' balls, being satisfied that now he had no Moravians to deal with, but men who could fight, and with such he did not wish to have any thing to do; I say, as he escaped, and they have taken you, they will take revenge on you in his stead.

Crawf.—And is there no possibility of preventing this? Can you devise no way to get me off? You shall, my friend, be well rewarded if you are instrumental in saving my life.

Wingen.—Had Williamson been taken with you, I and some friends, by making use of what you have told me, might perhaps, have succeeded to save you, but as the matter now stands, no man would dare to interfere in your behalf. The king of England himself, were he to come to this spot, with all his wealth and treasures could not effect this purpose. The blood of the innocent Moravians, more than half of them women and children, cruelly and wantonly murdered calls aloud for *revenge*. The relatives of the slain, who are among us, cry out and stand ready for *revenge*. The nation to which they belonged will have *revenge*. The Shawanese, our grand-children, have asked for your fellow prisoner; on him they will take *revenge*. All the nations connected with us cry out *Revenge! revenge!* The Moravians whom you went to destroy having fled, instead of avenging their brethren, the offence is become national, and the nation itself is bound to take REVENGE!

Crawf.—Then it seems my fate is decided, and I must prepare to meet death in its worst form?

Wingen.—Yes, Colonel!—I am sorry for it; but cannot do any thing for you. Had you attended to the Indian principle, that as good and evil cannot dwell together in the same heart, so a good man ought not to go into evil company; you would not

be in this lamentable situation. You see, now, when it is too late, after Williamson has deserted you, what a bad man he must be ! Nothing now remains for you but to meet your fate like a brave man. Farewell, Colonel Crawford ! they are coming* ; I will retire to a solitary spot.

I have been assured by respectable Indians that at the close of this conversation, which was related to me by Wingenund himself as well as by others, both he and Crawford burst into a flood of tears ; they then took an affectionate leave of each other, and the chief immediately *hid himself in the bushes*, as the Indians express it, or in his own language, retired to a solitary spot. He never, afterwards, spoke of the fate of his unfortunate friend without strong emotions of grief, which I have several times witnessed. Once, it was the first time that he came into Detroit after Crawford's sufferings, I heard him censured in his own presence by some gentlemen who were standing together for not having saved the life of so valuable a man, who was also his particular friend, as he had often told them. He listened calmly to their censure, and first turning to me, said in his own language : " These men talk like fools," then turning to them, he replied in English : " If king George himself, if your king had been on the spot with all the ships laden with goods and treasures, he could not have ransomed my friend,

* The people were at that moment advancing, with shouts and yells, to torture and put him to death.

“ nor saved his life from the rage of a *justly* exasperated multitude.”—HECKEWELDER.

SATIRICAL WIT.

An Indian, who spoke good English, came one day to a house where I was on business, and desired me to ask a man who was there and who owed him some money, to give an order in writing for him to get a little salt at the store, which he would take in part payment of his debt. The man, after reproving the Indian for speaking through an interpreter when he could speak such good English, told him that he must call again in an hour's time, for he was then too much engaged. The Indian went out and returned at the appointed time, when he was put off again for another hour, and when he came the third time, the other told him he was still engaged and he must come again in half an hour. My Indian friend's patience was not exhausted, he turned to me and addressed me thus in his own language: “ Tell this man,” said he, “ that while I have been waiting for his convenience to give me an order for a little salt, I have had time to think a great deal. I *thought* that when we Indians want any thing of one another, we serve each other on the spot, or if we cannot, we say so at once, but we never say to any one ‘ call again ! call again ! call again ! three times call again ! ’ Therefore when this man put me off in this manner, I *thought* that, to be sure, the white people were very ingenious, and probably he was able to do what no body else could. I *thought*

“ that as it was afternoon when I first came, and he
“ knew I had seven miles to walk to reach my camp,
“ he had it in his power to stop the sun in its course,
“ until it suited him to give me the order that I
“ wanted for a little salt. So *thought* I, I shall still
“ have day light enough, I shall reach my camp
“ before night, and shall not be obliged to walk in
“ the dark, at the risk of falling and hurting myself
“ by the way. But when I saw that the sun did
“ not wait for him, and I had at least to walk seven
“ miles in an obscure night, I *thought* then, that it
“ would be better if the white people were to learn
“ something of the Indians.”

I once asked an old Indian acquaintance of mine, who had come with his wife to pay me a visit, where he had been, that I had not seen him for a great while? “ Don’t you know,” he answered, “ that the
“ white people some time ago summoned us to a
“ treaty, to buy land of them?”—“ That is true,” replied I, “ I had indeed forgotten it; I thought
“ you was just returned from your fall hunt.”—
“ No, no,” replied the Indian, “ my fall hunt has
“ been lost to me this season; I had to go and get
“ my share of the purchase money for the land we
“ sold.”—“ Well then,” said I, “ I suppose you got
“ enough to satisfy you?”

Indian,—“ I can shew you all that I got. I have
“ received such and such articles,” (naming them
and the quantity of each,) “ do you think that is
“ enough?”

Heckew.—"That I cannot know, unless you tell me how much of the land which was sold came to your share."

Indian,—(after considering a little) "Well, you, my friend! know who I am, you know I am a kind of chief. I am, indeed, one, though none of the greatest. Neither am I one of the lowest grade, but I stand about in the middle rank. Now, as such, I think I was entitled to as much land in the tract we sold as would lie within a day's walk from this spot to a point due north, then a day's walk from that point to another due west, from thence another day's walk due south, then a day's walk to where we now are. Now you can tell me if what I have shewn you is enough for all the land lying between these four marks?"

Heckew.—"If you have made your bargain so with the white people, it is all right, and you probably have received your share."

Indian,—"Ah! but the white people made the bargain by themselves, without consulting us. They told us that they would give us so much, and no more."

Heckew.—"Well, and you consented thereto?"

Indian,—"What could we do, when they told us that they must have the land, and for such a price? Was it not better to take something than nothing? for they would have the land, and so we took what they gave us."

Heckew.—"Perhaps the goods they gave you came high in price. The goods which come over

“ the great salt-water lake sometimes vary in their
“ prices.”

Indian,—“ The traders sell their goods for just
“ the same prices that they did before, so that I
“ rather think it is the *land* that has fallen in value.
“ We, Indians, do not understand selling lands to
“ the white people ; for, when we sell, the price of
“ land is always low ; land is then cheap, but when
“ the white people sell it out among themselves, it
“ is always dear, and they are sure to get a high
“ price for it. I had done much better if I had staid
“ at home and minded my fall hunt. You know I
“ am a pretty good hunter and might have killed a
“ great many deer, sixty, eighty, perhaps a hundred,
“ and besides caught many racoons, beavers, otters,
“ wild cats, and other animals, while I was at this
“ treaty. I have often killed five, six, and seven
“ deer in one day. Now I have lost nine of the best
“ hunting weeks in the season by going to get what
“ you see ! We were told the precise time when
“ we must meet. We came at the very day, but the
“ great white men did not do so, and without them
“ nothing could be done. When after some weeks
“ they at last came, we traded, we sold our lands
“ and received goods in payment, and when that
“ was over, I went to my hunting grounds, but the
“ best time, the rutting time, being over, I killed
“ but a few. Now, help me to count up what I have
“ lost by going to the treaty. Put down eighty
“ deer ; say twenty of them were bucks, each buck-
“ skin one dollar ; then sixty does and young bucks

“ at two skins for a dollar; thirty dollars, and twenty
“ for the old bucks, make fifty dollars lost to me in
“ deer skins. Add, then, twenty dollars more to
“ this for racoon, beaver, wild cat, black fox, and
“ otter skins, and what does the whole amount to?”

Heckew.—“ Seventy dollars.”

Indian.—“ Well, let it be only seventy dollars,
“ but how much might I have bought of the traders
“ for this money! How well we might have lived,
“ I and my family in the woods during that time!
“ How much meat would my wife have dried! how
“ much tallow saved and sold or exchanged for salt,
“ flour, tea and chocolate! All this is now lost to
“ us; and had I not such a good wife (stroking her
“ under the chin) who planted so much corn, and so
“ many beans, pumpkins, squashes, and potatoes
“ last summer, my family would now live most
“ wretchedly. I have learned to be wise by going
“ to treaties, I shall never go there again to sell my
“ land and lose my time.”—HECKEWELDER.

USE OF THE BIBLE BY WHITE PEOPLE.

The Indians will not admit that the whites are superior beings. They say that the hair of their heads, their features, the various colours of their eyes, evince that they are not like themselves *Lenni Lenape*, an ORIGINAL PEOPLE, a race of men that has existed unchanged from the beginning of time; but they are a *mixed* race, and therefore a *troublesome* one; wherever they may be, the Great Spirit, knowing the wickedness of their disposition, found it

necessary to give them a great Book*, and taught them how to read it, that they might know and observe what he wished them to do and to abstain from. But they, the Indians, have no need of any such book to let them know the will of their Maker; they find it engraved on their own hearts; they have had sufficient discernment given to them to distinguish good from evil, and by following that guide, they are sure not to err.

It is true, they confess, that when they first saw the whites, they took them for beings of a superior kind. They did not know but that they had been sent to them from the abode of the Great Spirit for some great and important purpose. They therefore, welcomed them, hoping to be made happier by their company. It was not long, however, before they discovered their mistake, having found them an ungrateful insatiable people, who, though the Indians had given them as much land as was necessary to raise provisions for themselves and their families, and pasture for their cattle, wanted still to have more, and at last would not be contented with less than the *whole country*. “And yet,” say those injured people, “these white men would always be telling us of “their great Book which God had given to them; “they would persuade us that every man was good “who believed in what the Book said, and every “man was bad who did not believe in it. They told “us a great many things, which they said were

* The Bible.

“written in the good Book, and wanted us to believe
“it all. We would probably have done so, if we
“had seen them practise what they pretended to
“believe, and act according to the *good words* which
“they told us. But no! while they held their big
“Book in one hand, in the other they had murderous
“weapons, guns and swords, wherewith to kill us,
“poor Indians! Ah! and they did so too, they killed
“those who believed in their Book, as well as those
“who did not. They made no distinction!”—
HECKEWELDER.

TREATIES.

The Indians in early times would never even permit any warlike weapons to remain within the limits of their *council fire*, when assembled together about the ordinary business of government. It might, they said, have a bad effect, and defeat the object for which they had met. It might be a check on some of the persons assembled, and perhaps, prevent those who had a just complaint or representation to make, from speaking their minds freely. William Penn, said they, when he treated with them, adopted this ancient mode of their ancestors, and convened them under a grove of shady trees, where the little birds on their boughs were warbling their sweet notes. In commemoration of these conferences (which are always to Indians a subject of pleasing remembrance) they frequently assembled together in the woods, in some shady spot as nearly as possible similar to those where they used to meet their brother *Miquon*, and there lay all his “*words*” or

speeches, with those of his descendants, on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction go successively over the whole. This practice (which I have repeatedly witnessed) continued until the year 1780, when the disturbances which then took place put an end to it, probably for ever.

These pleasing remembrances, these sacred usages are no more. "When we treat with the white people," do the Indians now say, "we have not the choice of the spot where the messengers are to meet. When we are called upon to conclude a peace, (and what a peace?) the meeting no longer takes place in the shady grove, where the innocent little birds with their cheerful songs, seem as if they wished to soothe and enliven our minds, tune them to amity and concord and take a part in the good work for which we are met. Neither is it at the sacred council house, that we are invited to assemble. No!—It is at some of those horrid places, surrounded with mounds and ditches, where the most destructive of all weapons, where *great guns*, are gaping at us with their wide mouths, as if ready to devour us; and thus we are prevented from speaking our minds freely, as brothers ought to do!"

How then, say they, can there be any sincerity in such councils? how can a treaty of this kind be binding on men thus forced to agree to what is dictated to them in a strong prison and at the cannon's mouth; where all the stipulations are on one side, where all is concession on the one part and

no friendship appears on the other! From these considerations, which they urge and constantly dwell upon, the treaties which they make with the white men have lost all their force, and they think themselves no longer bound by them than they are compelled by superior power. Are they right in this or are they wrong? The impartial reader must decide.—

HECKEWELDER.

RELIGION AND LANGUAGES.

ON THE
RELIGION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES
OF
NORTH AMERICA.

BY S. F. JARVIS, D. D., A. A. S.
(*Of New York.*)

IN surveying those portions of American history, from which I might select a subject for the present occasion, it appeared to me that the religion of the Indian tribes of North America, had not been viewed with that largeness of observation, which is the characteristic of enlightened philosophy. Various causes may be mentioned, which have hitherto conspired to prevent, or to impede, such an examination. In the first place, the horror proceeding from the cruelties of their warfare, forbade the calmness of investigation. As long as they were formidable, curiosity was overpowered by terror; and there was neither leisure, nor inclination, to contemplate their character as a portion of the human family, while the glare of conflagration reddened the midnight sky, and the yells of the savage, mingling with the shrieks of butchered victims, rode, as portentous messengers, upon every gale. But that state of things has long ceased to exist. The white men of America have become too numerous, to fear any longer the effects of savage barbarity; and the

tales, which once carried terror to the stoutest heart, are now scarcely heard beyond the precincts of the nursery. In the room of fear, should now arise a sentiment of pity. "The red men are melting," to borrow the expressive metaphor of one of their most celebrated warriors*—"like snow before the sun;" and we should be anxious, before it is too late, to copy the evanescent features of their character, and perpetuate them on the page of history.

But when fear ceases, contempt is a natural consequence. The Indian, whose character was once so lofty and independent, is now seen begging at our doors for the price of his perdition; and, as our foot spurns the suppliant, we are apt to think, that nothing, connected with one so vile, can be worthy of our attention. But is it fair to judge from so vitiated a specimen? When a race of men are mingled with others, who consider them as inferiors, they inevitably become so. Submission to contempt, is an acknowledgment of its justice. If, therefore, the Indian would avoid degradation, he must retire from the habitations of white men; and if we wish to see him in his original character, we must follow him to his native forests.—There, surely, he is worthy of our attention. The lovers of the physical sciences explore the woods of America, to cull her plants, and to investigate the habits of her animals. Shall not the lovers of the moral sciences, be equally ardent and industrious? Shall man, who

* The noted Miami Chief Mishikinakwa, or Little Turtle, who contributed most to the defeat of St. Clair. See Volney's *View of the Soil and Climate of the United States*. Supplement, No. VI. Philad. 1804, p. 385.

stands at the summit of earthly creation, be forgotten amid the general scrutiny?

The sources of prejudice which I have mentioned, influence the examination of every subject, connected with the Indian character: there are peculiar difficulties, with regard to that on which I have chosen to address you.

The Indians themselves are not communicative in relation to their religion; and it requires a good deal of familiar, attentive, and I may add, unsuspected observation, to obtain any knowledge respecting it. Hence, many who have been transiently resident among them, have very confidently pronounced, that they have no religion; an assertion, which subsequent and more accurate travellers, have shown to be entirely unfounded.

Those, also, on whom we rely for information, have either been too little informed to know what to observe, or they have been influenced by peculiar modes of thinking, which have given a tinge to all they have said on the subject.

The various speculations, for example, on the question, whence America was peopled, led to many misrepresentations of the religious rites of its inhabitants; and affinities were discovered which existed no where but in the fancy of the inventor. Gomara, Lerius, and Lescarbot, inferred from some resemblances of this kind, that America was peopled by the Canaanites when they were expelled by Joshua; and the celebrated Grotius, adopting the sentiment of Martyr, imagined that Yucatan was first peopled by Ethiopians, and that those Ethiopians were Christians!

The human mind derives pleasure from paradox, for the same reason that it delights in wit. Both produce new and surprising combinations of thought; and the judgment, being overpowered by the fervour of imagination, becomes for a time insensible to their extravagance.

It is well known, that, among the philosophers of Europe, the opinion has very generally prevailed, that the natives of America were, both as to physical and mental powers, a feeble race; and, impressed with this belief, they hardly considered the religion of the Indians as worthy of minute attention. The celebrated historian of America, has unconsciously fallen into this error, at the very moment in which he was censuring others, for suffering their relation of facts to be perverted, by an attachment to preconceived theories*.

Volney, in opposition to the sentiments of Rousseau, has endeavoured to sink the character of the savage, in the same proportion as that eccentric author sought to raise it. On the subject of the Indian religion especially, no one should be read with greater caution. He who could imagine that Christianity was only an astronomical allegory, and that the birth of our Saviour meant no more than that the sun had entered the constellation Virgo, can hardly be considered as perfectly sane, even when he treats on the religion of heathens†. We need not be sur-

* See Robertson's America, book iv. §. vii.

† See *Les Ruines, ou Meditations sur les Revolutions des Empires*, par M. Volney. *Nouvelle edition corrigée*, Paris, 1792, Svo. chap. 22. p. 185. 221-4. In this work, Volney had the hardihood to maintain, not only that

prised, therefore, at the assertion that the Indians have no regular system of religion; that each one employs the liberty allowed him of making a religion for himself; and that all the worship they know is offered to the authors of evil*. Never was there an assertion more unfounded; but it enabled him to quote that maxim of the Epicurean poet, which is so frequently in the mouths of unbelievers, that all religion originated in fear:

Primos in orde Deos fecit timor.

On the other hand, an hypothesis has somewhat extensively prevailed, which exalts the religion of the Indians as much above its proper level, as Volney has debased it below; I mean that, which supposes them to be the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel. This theory so possessed the mind of Adair, that, although he had the greatest opportunities of obtaining knowledge, his book is, comparatively, of little use. We are constantly led to suspect the fidelity of his statements, because his judgment had lost its equipoise, and he saw every thing through a discoloured medium. I feel myself bound to notice this hypothesis the more, because it has lately been

our Saviour was an allegorical personage, but that all religions, Heathen, Mahometan, and Jewish, as well as Christian, are in substance the same; that all have arisen from a literal interpretation of the figurative language of astronomers; and that the very idea of a God, sprung from a personification of the elements, and of the physical powers of the universe. At the sight of this monstrous creation of a disordered fancy, one cannot help exclaiming with Stillingfleet, "Oh what will not Atheists believe, rather than a Deity and Providence."

* Volney's View of the United States, ut supr. trans. by Brown, p. 416.

revived and brought before the public, by a venerable member of this society, whose exalted character renders every opinion he may defend a subject of respectful attention*.

To the mind of every religious man, the history of the Hebrews is a subject of peculiar interest; and it is impossible to read of the extermination of the kingdom of Israel, without a feeling of compassion for the captives, who were thus torn from the land of their prerogative. The impenetrable darkness which hangs over their subsequent history, combines with this sentiment of pity, the powerful excitement of curiosity. It is not, then, to be wondered at, that when the disquisitions arose respecting the peopling of America, the idea of tracing to these western shores the long-lost tribes of Israel, should also have arisen before the eye of imagination with captivating splendour; that the thought should have been seized with avidity by men who were pious, and ardent, and contemplative; and that, in the establishment of a theory which every one could wish to be true, facts should be strained from their natural bent, and resemblances imagined, which have no existence in reality.

The most unequivocal method of tracing the origin of the aborigines of America, as Charlevoix has sensibly remarked, is to ascertain the character of their

* See Dr. Boudinot's *Star in the West*, or a humble attempt to discover the long-lost ten tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city Jerusalem. Trenton, [N. J.] 1816, 8vo.

languages, and to compare them with the primitive languages of the eastern hemisphere *.

But this test will, I conceive, be found very fatal to the theory in question. The best informed writers agree, that there are, exclusive of the Karalit or Esquimaux, three radical languages spoken by the Indians of North America. Mr. Heckewelder denominates them the Iroquois, the Lenapé, and the Floridian. The Iroquois is spoken by the six nations, the Wyandots or Hurons, the Naudowessies, the Assiniboils, and other tribes beyond the St. Lawrence. The Lenapé, which is the most widely extended language on this side of the Mississippi, was spoken by the tribes, now extinct, who formerly inhabited Nova-Scotia and the present state of Maine, the Abenákis, Micmacs, Canibas, Openangos, Soccokis, Etchemins, and Souriquois; dialects of it are now spoken by the Miamis, the Potawatamies, Missisaugoes, and Kickapoos; the Conestogos, Nanticokes, Shawanese, and Mohicans; the Algonquins, Knisteneaux, and Chippeways. The Floridian includes the languages of the Creeks or Muskohgees, Chickesaws, Choctaws, Pascagoulas, Cherokees, Seminolese, and several others in the southern states and Florida †. These three languages

* Charlevoix's *Dissertation sur l'origine des Amériquains*, prefixed to his *Journal d'un voyage dans l'Amer. Septent.*—*Hist. de la nouvelle France*, tom. iii. p. 33.

† Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia for promoting useful knowledge. Vol. i. Philad. 1819, 8vo. No. I. An account of the history, man-

are primitive, that is to say, are so distinct as to have no perceivable affinity. All, therefore, cannot be derived from the Hebrew; for it is a contradiction in terms, to speak of three languages radically different, as derived from a common source. Which then, we may well ask, is to be selected as the posterity of the Israelites: the Iroquois, the Lenapé, or the southern Indians?

Besides, there is one striking peculiarity in the construction of American languages, which has no counterpart in the Hebrew. Instead of the ordinary division of genders, they divide into the animate and inanimate. It is impossible to conceive that any nation, in whatever circumstances they might be placed, could depart, in so remarkable a manner, from the idioms of their native language.

But supposing that there were some affinity in any one of the languages of North America to the Hebrew, still it would not prove that the persons who speak it are of Hebrew descent. The Arabic and the Amharic have very strong affinities with the Hebrew: but does it thence follow that the Arabs and Abyssinians are Hebrews? Admitting, therefore, the fact of this affinity, in its fullest extent, the only legitimate inference would be, that the languages of America are of oriental derivation, and, consequently, that America was peopled from Asia.

To pursue this subject further, would occupy too many, and customs, of the Indian nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring states. By the Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem. Chap. ix. p. 104.

much time upon a point which is merely subsidiary. But I cannot forbear remarking, that, while the nation of Israel has been wonderfully preserved, the Indians are nearly exterminated. The nation of Israel will hereafter be restored to the land of their forefathers; but this event must speedily arrive, or the unhappy tribes of America can have no part in it. A few years more and they will be beyond the capability of migration!

The question, then, with regard to the immediate origin of the American Indians, must remain in the uncertainty which hangs over it. Nothing but a more extensive knowledge of the languages of this continent, of those of Northern Asia, and of the Islands in the Southern Pacific, can throw any additional light upon a problem, which has so long exercised, and so completely exhausted, the ingenuity of conjecture. Their religion furnishes no assistance in the solution, for it cannot be identified with that of any particular nation, in any other portion of the globe; and though resemblances, and those very strong and striking, can be traced, yet they are such as are common to the great family of man, and prove nothing but that all have one common origin.

It will be readily seen, however, that this proof is of vast importance. If the religion of the Indians exhibits traces of that primeval religion which was of divine appointment; if the debasement of it was owing, as among all other nations, to the concurrent operation of human ignorance, weakness, and cor-

ruption; and if its rites, and even its superstitious observances, bear that analogy to those of the old world, which must exist where all have flowed from one source: then all that is really useful in the question respecting the origin of the inhabitants of this continent will be fully obtained. There will be no anomaly in the history of human nature; and the assertion of Voltaire will be found to be as false as it is flippant, that the Americans are a race entirely different from other men, and that they have sprung into existence like plants and insects*.

* "Il n'est permis qu'à un aveugle de douter que les Blancs, les Nègres, les Albinos, les Hottentots, les Lapous, les Chinois, les Américains soient des races entièrement différentes." Voltaire Œuvres, vol. 16. p. 8.

"Au reste si l'on demande d'où sont venus les Américains, il faut aussi demander d'où sont venus les habitants des terres Australes; et l'on a déjà répondu que la providence qui a mis des hommes dans le Norvège, en a planté aussi en Amérique et sous le cercle polaire meridional, comme elle y a planté des arbres et fait croître de l'herbe." Ibid. p. 10.

"Se peut-il qu'on demande encore d'où sont venus les hommes qui ont peuplé l'Amérique? On doit assurément faire la même question sur les nations des Terres Australes. Elles sont beaucoup plus éloignées du port dont partit Christophe Colomb, que ne le sont les îles Antilles. On a trouvé des hommes et des animaux partout où la terre est habitable; qui les y a mis? On a déjà dit; C'est celui qui fait croître l'herbe des champs: et on ne devait pas être plus surpris de trouver en Amérique des hommes que des mouches." Ib. p. 37.

How much pains did this extraordinary man take to degrade that nature of which he was at once the ornament and the shame! No one can read the writings of Voltaire, without a feeling of admiration at the wonderful versatility of his talents. No one can help being amused, and having his mind drawn along, by the powers of his excursive fancy. But with all this, there is, to every serious and sensitive mind, a feeling of disgust and shrinking abhorrence. By associating ludicrous images with subjects which have been hallowed by the veneration of ages, he has the address to impart to them that ridicule which properly belongs only to the company in which he

Previous to the dispersion of the descendants of Noah, the knowledge of the true God, of the worship which he required from his creatures, and of the sanctions with which he enforced his commands, must have been common to all. It is impossible to conceive of any distinction where all were equally related to him, and possessed equal means of instruction and knowledge. In a word, the whole of mankind formed one universal church, having the same faith and the same worship.

How long this purity continued we know not, nor when, nor where, idolatry was first introduced. That it began, however, at a very early period, we have the strongest evidence; for Terah, the father of Abraham, was an idolater, notwithstanding the precepts and example of Noah, both of which, for more than a hundred years, he personally enjoyed. We may account for it from that tendency in our nature which seeks to contract every thing within the compass of our understanding, and to subject it, if possible, to the scrutiny of our senses. A Being purely spiritual, omniscient and omnipotent, is above our comprehension, and we seek, by the multiplication of subordinate deities, to account for the operations of his power. When this is done, the imagi-

has placed them. Hence, his writings have done more injury to truth, and to human happiness, than those of any other modern—perhaps I may add, of any other being. The thoughtless and the timid have been frightened out of their good principles by his caustic sarcasm, while to the rashly bold and ignorantly daring, the eyes of the judgment have been blinded by the coruscations of his wit.

nation feels itself at liberty to clothe them with corporeal forms ; and from this idea, the transition is not difficult, to the formation of idols, and the introduction of idolatry.

But notwithstanding this departure from primeval purity, the religion of mankind did not at once lose all its original brightness. It was still the form of the archangel ruined. It did not reject the worship of the true God, but seems only to have absurdly combined with it the worship of inferior divinities.

When Abraham sojourned at Gerar, the king of that country had evidently communications with the Almighty; and the testimony which God gave of the integrity of his character, and his submission to the divine admonition, clearly prove that he was a true believer*.

At a subsequent period, when Isaac lived in the same country, the king, a descendant of the former monarch, requested that a covenant of friendship should be made between them, because, as he observed, Isaac was the blessed of Jehovah†. "This," as Bishop Horsley remarks, "is the language of one who feared Jehovah, and acknowledged his providence‡."

When Joseph was brought before the King of Egypt, both speak of God as if they had the same faith, and the same trust in his overruling providence§.

* Gen. xx. 3, 4, 5, 6. See also xxi. 22, 23. † Gen. xxvi. 28, 29.

‡ Horsley's Dissertation on the Prophecies of the Messiah, dispersed among the Heathen, prefixed to Nine Serms. p. 41. New-York, 1816. 8vo.

§ Gen. xli. 25, 32, 38, 39.

Even at so late a period as when the Israelites entered Canaan, the spies of Joshua found a woman of Jericho, who confessed that "Jehovah, the God of Israel, he is God in heaven above, and in the earth beneath*."

The book of Job presents an interesting view of the patriarchal religion as it existed in Arabia ; and, it will be remembered that, in Mesopotamia, Balaam was a prophet of the Most High.

These instances are sufficient to show how extensively the worship of the true God prevailed, and that it had not become extinct even when the children of Israel took possession of the land of promise, and became the peculiar people of Jehovah. That it was blended, however, with the worship of inferior divinities, represented in idolatrous forms, is equally apparent from the sacred history.

When the servant of Abraham had disclosed to the family of Nahor the purpose of his mission, both Laban and Bethuel replied : "The thing proceedeth from Jehovah ; we cannot speak unto thee bad or good†." This reply was an evidence of their faith in the true God ; yet it afterwards appears that the same Laban had images which he called his gods, and which were regarded with veneration, and greatly valued by himself and his children‡. Upon the occasion of Jacob's departure to Bethel, he commanded his household to "put away the strange gods that were among them." These gods

* Josh. ii. v. 11. † Gen. xxiv. 50. ‡ Gen. xxxi. 19, 30, 32, 34, 35.

must have been numerous ; for it is mentioned that “ they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hand, and he hid them under the oak by Shechem*.” Even the chosen family, therefore, was not exempt from the infection of idolatry.

But this was idolatry in its milder form. The progress of corruption among mankind soon introduced a grosser and more malignant species. The worship of the invisible Creator was at length forgotten ; His seat was usurped by fictitious deities ; and a general apostacy prevailed.

Quis nescit——qualia demens

Ægyptus portenta colat ?——

Porum et cæpe nefas violare, aut frangere morsu.

O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis

Numina !

JUVENAL. SAT. XV.†

Then it was that the Almighty was pleased to give the nations over “ to a reprobate mind‡,” and to select a peculiar people, to be a signal example of his providence, the witness of his wonders, and the guardian of that revelation with which he sought to check the waywardness of human corruption.

I. Having thus seen that all false religions are, in a greater or less degree, departures from the

* Gen. xxxv. 2, 4.

† Who knows not to what monstrous gods, my friend,
The mad inhabitants of Egypt bend ?

—————’Tis dangerous here

To violate an onion, or to stain

The sanctity of leeks, with tooth profane.

O holy nations ! Sacro-sanct abodes !

Where every garden propagates its gods !—GIFFORD.

‡ Rom. i. 28.

true; that there is a tendency in the human mind, to form low and limited views of the Supreme Being; and that, in fact, all nations have fallen into the corruptions of polytheism and idolatry; we should conclude, even in reasoning *à priori*, that the religion of the Indians would be found to partake of the general character. Accordingly, the fact is amply attested, that while they acknowledge One Supreme Being, whom they denominate the *Great Spirit*, or the *Master of Life*, they also believe in Subordinate Divinities, who have the chief regulation of the affairs of men.

Charlevoix, who had all the opportunities of obtaining information which personal observation, and the united testimony of the French missionaries could give, is an unexceptionable witness with regard to the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the Algonquins. Nothing, says he, is more certain, though at the same time obscure, than the conception which the American savages have of a Supreme Being. All agree that he is the Great Spirit, and that he is the master, creator, and governor of the world*. The Hurons call him Areskoui; the Iroquois, by a slight variation, Agreskoué. He is, with them, the God of war. His name they invoke as they march. It is the signal to engage, and it is the war-cry in the hottest of the battle†.

* Charlevoix, Journal, &c. let. xxiv. p. 343.

† Charlevoix, Journal, &c. let. xxiv. p. 344. "Il paroît que dans ces chansons (de guerre) on invoque le Dieu de la guerre, que les Hurons appellent *Areskoui*, et les Iroquois *Agreskoué*. Je ne sçai pas quel nom

But, beside the Supreme Being, they believe in an infinite number of subaltern spirits, who are the objects of worship. These they divide into good and bad. The good spirits are called, by the Hurons, *Okkis*, by the Algonquins, *Manitous*. They suppose them to be the guardians of men, and that each has his own tutelary deity. In fact, every thing in nature has its spirit, though all have not the same rank nor the same influence. The animals they hunt have their spirits. If they do not understand any thing, they immediately say, *it is a spirit*. If any man performs a remarkable exploit, or exhibits extraordinary talents, he is said *to be a spirit*, or, in other words, his tutelary deity is supposed to be of more than ordinary power*.

It is remarkable, however, that these tutelary deities are not supposed to take men under their protection till something has been done to merit the favour. A parent who wishes to obtain a guardian

on lui donne dans les langues Algonquines. Mais n'est il pas un peu étonnant que dans le mot Grec *Agēs*, qui est le *Mars*, et le Dieu de la guerre dans tous les pays, où l'on a suivi la Théologie d'Homere, on trouve la racine d'où semblent dériver plusieurs termes de la langue Huronne et Iroquoise, qui ont rapport à la guerre ? *Aregouen* signifie, faire la guerre, et se conjugue ainsi : *Garego*, je fais la guerre ; *Sarego*, tu fais la guerre ; *Arego*, il fait la guerre. Au reste, *Areskoui* n'est pas seulement le *Mars* de ces peuples ; il est encore le Souverain des Dieux, ou, comme ils s'expriment, le Grand Esprit, le Créateur et le Maître du Monde, le Génie qui gouverne tout : mais c'est principalement pour les expéditions militaires, qu'on l'invoque, comme si la qualité, qui lui fait le plus d'honneur étoit celle de Dieu des armées. *Son nom est le cri de guerre avant le combat et au fort de la mêlée : dans les marches même on le répète souvent, comme pour s'encourager, et pour implorer son assistance.*" Ibid, p. 208.

* Charlevoix, Journal, &c., let. xxiv. p. 315-6.

spirit for his child, first blackens his face, and then causes him to fast for several days. During this time it is expected that the spirit will reveal himself in a dream; and on this account, the child is anxiously examined every morning with regard to the visions of the preceding night. Whatever the child happens to dream of the most frequently, even if it happen to be the head of a bird, the foot of an animal, or any thing of the most worthless nature, becomes the symbol or figure under which the *Okki* reveals himself. With this figure, in the conceptions of his votary, the spirit becomes identified; the image is preserved with the greatest care—is the constant companion on all great and important occasions, and the constant object of consultation and worship*.

As soon as a child is informed what is the nature or form of his protecting deity, he is carefully instructed in the obligations he is under to do him homage—to follow his advice communicated in dreams—to deserve his favours—to confide implicitly in his care—and to dread the consequences of his displeasure. For this reason, when the Huron or the Iroquois goes to battle or to the chase, the image of his *okki* is as carefully carried with him as his arms. At night, each one places his guardian idol on the palisades surrounding the camp, with the face turned from the quarter to which the warriors, or hunters, are about to march. He then prays to it for an hour, as he does also in the morning

* Charlevoix, ut supr. p. 346.

before he continues his course. This homage performed, he lies down to rest, and sleeps in tranquillity, fully persuaded that his spirit will assume the whole duty of keeping guard, and that he has nothing to fear*.

With this account of Charlevoix, the relations which the Moravian missionaries give, not only of the Iroquois, but also of the Lenapés, or Delawares, and the numerous tribes derived from them, perfectly accord. "The prevailing opinion of all these nations is," says Loskiel, "that there is one God, or, as they call him, one great and good Spirit, who has created the heavens and the earth, and made man and every other creature." But "beside the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits,

* "Mais ce que l'on oublieroit encore moins que les armes, et ce que l'on conserve avec le plus grand soin dont les sauvages sont capables, ce sont les *Manitous*. J'en parlerai ailleurs plus amplement : il suffit ici de dire que ce sont les symboles, sous lesquels chacun se représente son esprit familier. On les met tous dans un sac fait de Jones, et peint de différentes couleurs ; et souvent, pour faire honneur au chef, on place ce sac sur le devant de son canot. S'il y a trop de *Manitous* pour tenir dans un seul sac, on les distribue dans plusieurs, qui sont confiés à la garde du lieutenant et des anciens de chaque famille. Alors on y joint les presens, qui ont été faits pour avoir des prisonniers, avec les langues de tous les animaux, qu'on a tués pendant la campagne, et dont on doit faire au retour un sacrifice aux esprits." Charlevoix, Journal, p. 223.

"On campe longtems avant le soleil couché, et pour l'ordinaire on laisse devant le camp un grand espace environné d'une palissade, ou plutôt d'une espece de treillis, sur lequel on place les *Manitous* tournés du côté, où l'on veut aller. On les y invoque pendant une heure, et on en fait autant tous les matins, avant que de décamper. Après cela on croit n'avoir rien à craindre, on suppose que les esprits se chargent de faire seuls la sentinelle, et toute l'armée dort tranquillement sous leur sauve-garde." Ibid, p. 235.

considering them as subordinate deities." "Our missionaries have not found rank polytheism, or gross idolatry, to exist among the Indians. They have, however, something which may be called an idol. This is the *Manitto*, representing, in wood, the head of a man in miniature, which they always carry about them, either on a string round their neck, or in a bag. They hang it also about their children, to preserve them from illness, and ensure to them success. When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a *manitto*, or a head as large as life, is put upon a pole in the middle of the house. But they understand by the word *manitto*, every being to which an offering is made, especially all good spirits. They also look upon the elements, almost all animals, and even some plants, as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. The *manittoes* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has, in a dream, received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffalo. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; but those who have been thus favoured, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally*.

This account is corroborated by Heckewelder in his late interesting history of the Indian nations.

"It is a part of their religious belief," says he, "that there are inferior *manittos*, to whom the great

* Loskiel, part 1. chap. iii. p. 34, 35, 39, 40. Lond. 1794.

and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he, like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests; these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report to him what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger. Thus I have frequently witnessed Indians, on the approach of a storm or thunder-gust, address the manitto of the air to avert all danger from them; I have also seen the Chippeways, on the lakes of Canada, pray to the manitto of the waters, that he might prevent the swells from rising too high, while they were passing over them. In both these instances, they expressed their acknowledgment, or showed their willingness to be grateful, by throwing tobacco in the air, or strewing it on the waters.”—“ But amidst all these superstitious notions, the Supreme Manitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes—to him they address their prayers, and make their solemn sacrifices*.”

The Knistineaux Indians, who inhabit the country extending from Labrador, across the continent, to the Highlands which divide the waters on Lake Superior from those of Hudson's Bay, appear, from Mackenzie's account, to have the same system, of one great Supreme, and innumerable subordinate

* Heckewelder, p. 205, 6.

deities. "The Great Master of Life," to use their own expression, "is the sacred object of their devotion. But each man carries in his medicine bag a kind of household God, which is a small carved image about eight inches long. Its first covering is of down, over which a piece of beech bark is closely tied, and the whole is enveloped in several folds of red and blue cloth. This little figure is an object of the most pious regard*."

It is remarkable, that the description given by Peter Martyr, who was the companion of Columbus, of the worship of the inhabitants of Cuba, perfectly agrees with this account of the Northern Indians by Mackenzie. They believed in the existence of one supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent Creator, whom they named *Jocahuna*, but at the same time acknowledged a plurality of subordinate deities. They had little images called *Zemes*, whom they looked upon as only a kind of messengers between them and the eternal, omnipotent, and invisible God. These images they considered as bodies inhabited by spirits, and oracular responses were therefore received from them as uttered by the divine command†.

The religion of Porto Rico, Jamaica, and Hispaniola, was the same as that of Cuba; for the in-

* Mackenzie's Voyages from Montreal, on the river St. Lawrence, through the continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the years 1789 and 1793. Lond. 1801. 4to. p. ci. cii. 8vo. 1802. vol. i. p. 124.

† Pet. Mart. decad i. lib. ix. apud Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ*, vol. i. p. 3 Edwards' *West-Indies*, vol. i. p. 83.

habitants were of the same race, and spoke the same language. The Carribean Islands, on the other hand, were inhabited by a very fierce and savage people, who were continually at war with the milder natives of Cuba and Hispaniola, and were regarded by them with the utmost terror and abhorrence. Yet "the Charaibes," to use the language of the elegant historian of the West Indies, "while they entertained an awful sense of one great Universal Cause, of a superior, wise, and invisible Being of absolute and irresistible power, admitted also the agency of subordinate divinities. They supposed that each individual person had his peculiar protector or tutelary deity; and they had their lares and penates, gods of their own creating." "Hughes, in his History of Barbadoes, mentions many fragments of Indian idols, dug up in that island, which were composed of the same materials as their earthen vessels. 'I saw the head of one,' says he, 'which alone weighed above sixty pounds. This, before it was broken off, stood upon an oval pedestal, about three feet in height. The heads of all the others were very small. These lesser idols were, in all probability, made small for the ease and conveniency of being carried with them in their several journeys, as the larger sort were perhaps designed for some stated places of worship*.' "

Thus, in this vast extent of country, from Hudson's Bay to the West Indies, including nations whose languages are radically different, nations un-

* Edwards, vol. i. p. 43-9. and Hughes, p. 7. apud Edwards *ut. sup.*

connected with, and unknown to, each other, the greatest uniformity of belief prevails with regard to the Supreme Being, and the greatest harmony in their system of polytheism. After this view, it is impossible not to remark, that there is a smaller departure from the original religion among the Indians of America, than among the more civilized nations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The idea of the Divine Unity is much more perfectly preserved; the subordinate divinities are kept at a much more immeasurable distance from the Great Spirit; and, above all, there has been no attempt among them to degrade to the likeness of men, the invisible and incomprehensible Creator of the universe. In fact, theirs is exactly that milder form of idolatry which "prevailed every where from the days of Abraham, his single family excepted," and which, after the death of that patriarch and of his son Isaac, infected, from time to time, even the chosen family itself*.

II. The belief of a future state of rewards and punishments has been kept alive among all heathen nations, by its connexion with the sensible enjoyments and sufferings, and the consequent hopes and terrors of men.

Its origin must have been in divine revelation; for it is impossible to conceive that the mind could have attained to it by its own unassisted powers. But the thought, when once communicated, would, in

* Horsley's Dissertation, *supr ut.* p. 47.

the shipwreck of dissolving nature, be clung to with the grasp of expiring hope. Hence no nations have yet been found, however rude and barbarous, who have not agreed in the great and general principle of retributive immortality. When, however, we descend to detail, and inquire into their peculiar notions with regard to this expected state, we find that their traditions are coloured by the nature of their earthly occupations, and the opinions they thence entertain on the subject of good and evil.

This remark is fully verified by the history of the American Indians. "The belief most firmly established among the American savages," says Charlevoix, "is that of the immortality of the soul. They suppose, that when separated from the body, it preserves the same inclinations which it had when both were united. For this reason, they bury with the dead all that they had in use when alive. Some imagine that all men have two souls, one of which never leaves the body unless it be to inhabit another. This transmigration, however, is peculiar to the souls of those who die in infancy, and who therefore have the privilege of commencing a second life, because they enjoyed so little of the first. Hence children are buried along the highways, that the women, as they pass, may receive their souls. From this idea of their remaining with the body, arises the duty of placing food upon their graves*; and mothers have been seen to draw from their bosoms that nourishment which these little creatures loved

* Journal Historique, p. 351.

when alive, and shed it upon the earth which covered their remains *."

"When the time has arrived for the departure of those spirits which leave the body, they pass into a region which is destined to be their eternal abode, and which is therefore called the Country of Souls. This country is at a great distance toward the west, and to go thither costs them a journey of many months. They have many difficulties to surmount, and many perils to encounter. They speak of a stream in which many suffer shipwreck ;—of a dog from which they, with difficulty, defend themselves; of a place of suffering where they expiate their faults ;—of another in which the souls of those prisoners who have been tortured are again tormented, and who therefore linger on their course, to delay as long as possible the moment of their arrival. From this idea it proceeds, that after the death of these unhappy victims, for fear their souls may remain around the huts of their tormentors from the thirst of vengeance, the latter are careful to strike every place around them with a staff, and

* "On a vu des mères garder des années entières les cadavres de leurs enfans et ne pouvoir s'en cloigner ; et d'autres se tirer du lait de la mamelle, et le répandre sur la tombe de ces petites créatures. Si le feu prend à un village, ou il y ait des corps morts, c'est la première chose qu'on met en sureté : on se dépouille de ce qu'on a de plus précieux, pour en parer les défunts ; de tems en tems on découvre leurs cercueils pour les changer d'habits, et l'on s'arrache les morceaux de la bouche, pour les porter sur leur sépulture, et dans les lieux, où l'on s'imagine que leurs ames se promènent." Charlevoix, Journal, ut supr. p. 372-3.

to utter such terrible cries as may oblige them to depart*.”

To be put to death as a captive, is, therefore, an exclusion from the Indian paradise; and, indeed, “the souls of all who have died a violent death, even in war, and in the service of their country, are supposed to have no intercourse in the future world with other souls†. They therefore burn the bodies of such persons, or bury them, sometimes before they have expired. They are never put into the common place of interment, and they have no part in that solemn ceremony which the Hurons and the Iroquois observe every ten years, and other nations every eight, of depositing all who have died during that period in a common place of sepulture‡.”

To have been a good hunter, brave in war, fortunate in every enterprise, and victorious over many enemies, are the only titles to enter their abode of bliss. The happiness of it consists in the never-failing supply of game and fish, an eternal spring, and an abundance of every thing which can delight the senses without the labour of procuring it§.” Such

* *Journal Historique*, ut supr. p.352.

† How different from the opinions of the Scandinavian Nations, from whose paradise all were excluded who ignobly died in the common course of nature. None were admitted to the Hall of Odin but those who had fallen in battle.

‡ Charlevoix, *Journal Hist.* p. 376-7. This ceremony is called the feast of the dead, or of souls, and is described very minutely by Charlevoix, who calls it “l'action la plus singulière et la plus célèbre de toute la religion des sauvages.”

§ Charlev. ut supr. p.352-3.

are the pleasures which they anticipate who often return weary and hungry from the chase, who are often exposed to the inclemencies of a wintry sky, and who look upon all labour as an unmanly and degrading employment.

The Chippewyans live between the parallels of lat. 60 and 65 north, a region of almost perpetual snows; where the ground never thaws, and is so barren as to produce nothing but moss*.

To them, therefore, perpetual verdure and fertility, and waters unincumbered with ice, are voluptuous images. Hence they imagine that, after death, they shall inhabit a most beautiful island in the centre of an extensive lake. On the surface of this lake they will embark in a stone canoe, and if their actions have been generally good, will be borne by a gentle current to their delightful and eternal abode. But if, on the contrary, their bad actions predominate, “the stone canoe sinks, and leaves them up to their chins in the water, to behold and regret the reward enjoyed by the good, and eternally struggling, but with unavailing endeavours, to reach the blissful island, from which they are excluded for ever †.”

On the other hand, the Arrowauks, or natives of Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Jamaica, and Trinidad, would naturally place their enjoyments in every thing that was opposite to the violence of a

* Mackenzie, *Svo.* vol. i. p. 155. 157.

† Mackenzie, *ut sup.* General History of the Fur Trade, 4to. p. cxiv. *Svo.* vo i. p. 145, 6.

tropical climate. "They suppose, therefore, that the spirits of good men were conveyed to the pleasant valley of *Coyaba*; a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with *guavas* and other delicious fruits, cool shades, and murmuring rivulets; in a country where drought never rages, and the hurricane is never felt*."

While these voluptuous people made the happiness of the Future State to consist in these tranquil enjoyments, their fierce enemies, the Charaibes, looked forward to a paradise, in which the brave would be attended by their wives and captives. "The degenerate and the cowardly, they doomed to everlasting banishment beyond the mountains; to unremitting labour in employments that disgrace manhood—a disgrace heightened by the greatest of all afflictions, captivity and servitude among the Arrowauks†."

Thus the ideas of the savage, with regard to the peculiar nature of future bliss or woe, are always modified by associations arising from his peculiar situation, his peculiar turn of thought, and the pains and pleasures of the senses. With regard to the question in what their happiness or misery will consist, they differ; but with regard to the existence of a future state, and that it will be a state of retribution for the deeds done in the body, they agree without exception, and their faith is bright and cloudless. "Whether you are divinities or mortal

* Edwards' West Indies, vol. i. p. 73.

† Ibid, vol. i. p. 47.

men," said an old man of Cuba to Columbus, " we know not—but if you are men, subject to mortality like ourselves, you cannot be unapprized, that after this life there is another, wherein a very different portion is allotted to good and bad men. If, therefore, you expect to die, and believe, with us, that every one is to be rewarded in a future state, according to his conduct in the present, you will do no hurt to those who do none to you *."

This relation is given us by Martyr, and it is sufficient to shew, with what exactness the primitive belief has been retained. This man was a savage, but he spoke the language of the purest revelation.

III. On the belief of a God who regulates the affairs of men, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, all religion is founded; and from these principles, all religious rites are ultimately derived. But there is an obvious distinction to be made, between the tradition of doctrines, and the tradition of those outward observances with which the doctrines were originally connected. The tradition of doctrines is oral; the tradition of ceremonies is ocular. The relation of the most simple fact, as it passes from mouth to mouth, is discoloured and distorted. After a few removals from its source, it becomes so altered as hardly to have any resemblance to its first form. But it is not so with regard to actions. These

* Herrera, lib. ii. cap. 14. and Martyr, decad. i. lib. iii. apud Edwards, vol. i. p. 72-3. See also Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. Oxon. 1797. vol. ii. p. 357.

are retained by the sight, the most faithful and accurate of our senses;—they are imitated;—the imitation becomes habitual;—and habits, when once formed, are with difficulty eradicated. No fact is more certain, or falls more within the experience of every attentive observer of our nature, than that of customs prevailing among nations, for which they are totally unable to account. Even among individuals, habits exist, long after the causes have ceased, to which they owed their origin. The child imitates the actions of the parent, without inquiring, in all cases, into the motives which lead to the observance; and even if informed of the motives, he may either misconceive or forget them. Here then is the difference between oral and ocular tradition. The doctrine may be lost in the current of ages, while the ceremony is transmitted unimpaired.

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quàm quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*

HOR. A. P. 150.*

In endeavouring, therefore, to trace the affinities which a corrupt religion may bear to the pure, if we wish to be successful, we must confine ourselves to its outward observances. This remark applies with peculiar force to the religion of the Indian tribes. They have never possessed the knowledge of letters, and all their religious doctrines have been trusted to the uncertain conveyance of oral tradition. The

* ————— That which strikes the eye
Lives long upon the mind: The faithful sight
Engraves the image with a beam of light.

wild and roving life of the Indian, is at variance with the reception of regular instruction; and though the parents may be very careful in relating their traditions to their children*, they must, of necessity, be confused and imperfect.

But supposing them to be ever so exact, we have no certainty that the accounts given of them by travellers are correct. The Indians, it has before been observed, are not communicative on religious subjects; and they may take pleasure in baffling, or misleading, the curiosity of white men, whom they, in general, look upon with no friendly eye. And with regard to oral traditions, there is greater room, also, for the imagination of the traveller to draw wrong conclusions, and to be influenced in his report by the power of a preconceived system. On the other hand, with regard to religious ceremonies, he has only to give a faithful relation of what he sees; and even if the force of some favourite theory, leads him to mingle his comments with his description, a judicious reader is able to separate the one from the other. The application of these principles will save much labour, and give certainty to a subject, which has hitherto been considered as affording nothing but conjecture. We will proceed, then, to consider the external part of the religion of the Indians, and we shall soon see, not only that there is a great uniformity among the rites of nations who are radi-

* See Heckewelder, Hist. Acc. p. 99, who mentions the great pains which the Indians take to instil good principles into the minds of their children.

cally different, but, if I am not mistaken, that connexion with the patriarchal religion which might naturally be supposed to exist, if the one be considered as a corruption of the other.

All who have been conversant with the worship of the American tribes, unite in the assertion, that they offer sacrifices and oblations, both to the Great Spirit, and to the subordinate or intermediate Divinities.

To all the inferior deities, whether good or malevolent, the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the Algonkins, make various kinds of offerings. "To propitiate the God of the Waters," says Charlevoix, "they cast into the streams and lakes, tobacco, and birds which they have put to death. In honour of the sun, and also of inferior spirits, they consume in the fire a part of every thing they use, as an acknowledgment of the power from which they have derived these possessions. On some occasions, they have been observed to make libations, invoking at the same time, in a mysterious manner, the object of their worship. These invocations they have never explained; whether it be, that they have in fact no meaning, or that the words have been transmitted by tradition, unaccompanied by their signification, or that the Indians themselves are unwilling to reveal the secret. Strings of wampum, tobacco, ears of corn, the skins, and often the whole carcasses of animals, are seen along difficult or dangerous roads, on rocks, and on the shores of rapids, as so many offerings made to the presiding spirit of the place.

In these cases, dogs are the most common victims; and are often suspended alive upon trees by the hinder feet, where they are left to die in a state of madness *."

What Charlevoix thus affirms, with regard to the Hurons, Iroquois, and Algonkins, is mentioned by Mackenzie, as practised among the Knisteneaux. "There are stated periods," says he, "such as the spring and autumn, when they engage in very long and solemn ceremonies. On these occasions, dogs are offered as sacrifices: and those which are fat and milk-white are preferred. They also make large offerings of their property, whatever it may be. The scene of these ceremonies, is in an open enclosure, on the bank of a river or lake, and in the most conspicuous situation, in order that such as are passing along, or travelling, may be induced to make their offerings. There is also a particular custom among them, that on these occasions, if any of the tribe, or even a stranger, should be passing by, and be in real want of any thing that is displayed as an offering, he has a right to take it, so that he replaces it with some article he can spare, though it be of far inferior value; but to take or touch any thing wantonly is considered as a sacrilegious act, and highly insulting to the *Great Master of Life*, who is the sacred object of their devotion." At the feasts made by their chiefs, he further observes, "a small quantity of meat or drink is sacrificed before they

* Charlevoix, Journal, p. 347-8.

begin to eat, by throwing it into the fire, or on the earth *."

A similar account is given by Adair of the practice among the Creeks, Katábahs, Cherokees, Choc-taws, and other southern Indians. "The indian women," says he, "always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire, when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. They pretend to draw omens from it, and firmly believe that it is the mean of obtaining temporal blessings, and averting temporal evils. The men, both in their summer and winter hunt, sacrifice in the woods a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health, and for their former success in hunting, or that the Divine care and goodness may still be continued to them †."

The song of the Lenapé warriors, as they go out to meet their enemy, concludes with the promise of a victim if they return in safety.

O! Thou Great Spirit above!

* * * * *

Give me strength and courage to meet my enemy;

Suffer me to return again to my children,

To my wife,

And to my relations!

Take pity on me and preserve my life,

And I will make to thee a sacrifice.

Accordingly, "after a successful war," says

* Gen. Hist. of Fur Trade, 4to. p. c. ci. cii. civ. Svo. vol. i. p. 123-4. 128.

† Adair, Hist. of North American Indians, p. 115, 117.

Heckewelder, "they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies*."

Loskiel, who has given a minute account of the sacrifices offered by the Lenapé or Delawares, and who is said, by Heckewelder, to have almost exhausted the subject, affirms that they are offered upon all occasions, the most trivial, as well as the most important. "They sacrifice to a hare," says he, "because, according to report, the first ancestor of the Indian tribes had that name†." To Indian corn, they sacrifice bear's flesh, but to deer and bears, Indian corn; to the fishes, small pieces of bread in the shape of fishes; but they positively deny, that they pay any adoration to these subordinate good spirits, and affirm, that they only worship the true God, through them: For God, say they, does not require men to pay offerings or adoration immediately to him. He has, therefore, made known his will in dreams, notifying to them, what beings they have to consider as *Manittoes*, and what offerings to make to them‡."—"When a boy dreams, that he sees a large bird of prey, of the size of a man, flying towards him from the north, and saying to him, 'Roast some meat for me,' the boy is then

* Heckewelder, *Hist. Acc. of Ind.* p. 204, 207.

† This may account for the following statement by Charlevoix: "Presque toutes les Nations Algonquines ont donné le nom de *grand Lièvre* au premier Esprit. Quelques uns l'appellent *Michabou*; d'autres *Atahocan*." *Journal*, p. 344.

‡ Loskiel, p. 40.

bound to sacrifice the first deer or bear he shoots to this bird. The sacrifice is appointed by an old man, who fixes on the day and place in which it is to be performed. Three days previous to it, messengers are sent to invite the guests. These assemble in some lonely place, in a house large enough to contain three fires. At the middle fire, the old man performs the sacrifice. Having sent for twelve straight and supple sticks, he fastens them into the ground, so as to enclose a circular spot, covering them with blankets. He then rolls twelve red-hot stones into the enclosure, each of which is dedicated to one God in particular. The largest belongs, as they say, to the great God in Heaven; the second to the sun, or the God of the day; the third, to the sun or the moon; the fourth, to the earth; the fifth, to the fire; the sixth, to the water; the seventh, to the dwelling or House-God; the eighth, to Indian corn; the ninth, to the west; the tenth, to the south; the eleventh, to the east; and the twelfth, to the north. The old man then takes a rattle, containing some grains of Indian corn, and leading the boy, for whom the sacrifice is made, into the enclosure, throws a handful of tobacco upon the red-hot stones, and as the smoke ascends, rattles his calabash, calling each God by name, and saying: ‘This boy (naming him) offers unto thee a fine fat deer, and a delicious dish of sapan! Have mercy on him, and grant good luck to him and his family *.’”

* Loskiel, part i, cap. iii. p. 42-3.

All the inhabitants of the West Indies offered sacrifices; and of these, the Charaibes were accustomed, at the funerals of their friends, to offer some of the captives who had been taken in battle*. I scarcely need advert to the well-known fact, that human sacrifices were offered by the Mexicans. Of these, all the Spanish historians have given the most horrible and disgusting account, and they are described more especially by Bernal Diaz, who was an eye-witness, with the most artless and affecting simplicity. Of this practice, however, there are no traces among the present Indian tribes, unless the tormenting of their captives, as Charlevoix seems to intimate, be considered as a sacrifice to the God of war†.

That the practice of sacrifice, as an expiation for sin, formed a prominent feature in the religion of all the nations of the old world, is a truth too well known to require proof. That it formed a part of the patriarchal religion is equally evident; and that it must have been of divine institution will, I think, be admitted, after a very little reflection. The earliest instance of worship, recorded in the Holy Scriptures, is the sacrifice offered by Cain and Abel, at a period when no permission had yet been given to eat animal food, and no pretext could have possibly pre-

* Edwards' West Indies, p. 47, 51.

† "Il semble que ce soit des victimes qu'on engraisse pour le sacrifice, et ils sont effectivement immolés au Dieu de la Guerre: la seule difference qu'on met entre ceux et les autres, (the adopted prisoners,) c'est qu'on leur noircit entièrement le visage." Journal Hist. p. 246,

sented itself to the mind of man for taking the life of any of the creatures of God. It is equally inconceivable, that by any deduction of unassisted reason, the mind could have arrived at the conclusion, that to destroy a part of creation, could be acceptable to the Creator; much less, that it could be viewed as an act of homage. The difficulty is still greater, when it is considered that this was intended as an expiation for the sins of the offerer. How could the shedding of the blood of an animal be looked upon as an atonement for the offences which man had committed against his Maker? This would have been to make an act at which nature would once have involuntarily shuddered, the expiation of another act which might not in itself be so hurtful or so barbarous.

This reasoning is further strengthened by the next instance of worship recorded in the Bible. When Noah had descended from the Ark, the first act of a religious nature which he performed, was to build an altar and to offer sacrifice. Human reason would have dictated a course of conduct directly opposite; for it would have told him not to diminish the scanty remnant of life; especially when the earth was already covered with the victims which had perished in the mighty waste of waters.

But if of divine institution, the question then arises, what was the reason of the institution? Every intelligent being proposes to himself some end—some design to be accomplished by his actions. What, then, with reverence let it be asked, was the design of God?

To the Christian the solution of this inquiry is not difficult. He has learned, that in the secret counsels of almighty wisdom, the death of the Messiah was essential for the salvation of man; that in his death, the first of our race was as much interested as he will be, who will listen to the last stroke of departing time; that it was necessary, therefore, to establish a representation of this great event as a sign of the future blessing, in order to keep alive the hopes and the expectations of men; and that this was effected by the slaughter of an innocent animal whose life was in the blood, and whose blood poured out was the symbol of His death, who offered himself a ransom for the sins of men.

Assuming this as the origin and intent of sacrifice, it is easy to account for its universal prevalence among mankind. Noah, as we have seen, offered a burnt-offering immediately after he left the Ark. From him, and his three sons, did their posterity derive the practice; and we find from the Scriptures, that it prevailed among all the nations, which, from their connexion with the family of Israel, are there incidentally mentioned.

If we turn to profane history, we cannot open a volume without meeting every where the record of sacrifice. The Phenicians, the Ethiopians, the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Persians, the nations in the north of Europe and Asia, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Romans, the inhabitants of Gaul and Britain—in a word, every heathen nation, of which we have any records remaining, constantly offered sacrifice as an expiation for sin. The gra-

dual corruption of the true religion, while it caused the origin of the rite to be forgotten, made no other alteration in the practice than such as regarded the quality of the victim. Human reason must, at all times, have perceived, how inadequate was the slaughter of animals to atone for the sins of mankind. A nobler victim seemed to be demanded; and it was not to be wondered at, that the blood of men and even of children, as approaching nearer to innocence, should finally be considered as essential to obtain the grant of pardon.

To find the same practice prevailing among all the Indian tribes of America, a practice deriving its origin, not from any dictate of nature, or from the deductions of reason, but resting solely upon the positive institution of God, affords the most triumphant evidence, that they sprang from the common parent of mankind, and that their religion, like that of all other heathen nations, is derived by a gradual deterioration from that of Noah. At the same time, it will be seen, that they are far from having sunk to the lowest round on the scale of corruption. With the exception of the Mexicans, their religious rites have a character of mildness which we should elsewhere seek in vain.

IV. Having seen that sacrifice is practised among the Indians, we are naturally led to consider the question, whether they have among them a priesthood; and, on this point, the testimony of travellers is somewhat discordant. Mackenzie mentions

that the Chepewyans have high priests* ; yet he describes the public sacrifices of the Knisteneaux, as offered by their chiefs, and the private, by every man in his own cabin, assisted by his most intimate friend†. Charlevoix says, that among the Indians of whom he writes, in public ceremonies, the chiefs are the priests, in private, the father of each family, or where there is none, the most considerable person in the cabin. An aged missionary, he says, who lived among the Ottawas, stated, that with them an old man performed the office of priest‡.” Loskiel says of the Lenapé, or Delaware Indians, that “they have neither priests regularly appointed, nor temples. At general and solemn sacrifices, the oldest men perform the offices of priests ; but in private parties, each man bringing a sacrifice is priest himself. Instead of a temple, a large dwelling-house is fitted up for the purpose.” He afterwards speaks of the place of offering, under the name of “the

* Mackenzie, 8vo vol. i. p. 153. “There are conjurers and high priests, but I was not present at any of their ceremonies.”

† Ibid, p. 124. 128-9

“ Si l'on peut donner le nom de sacrifices aux offrandes, que ces peuples font à leurs divinités, *les prêtres parmi eux ne sont jamais les jongleurs* : dans les cérémonies publiques, ce sont les chefs, et dans le domestique, ce sont ordinairement les pères de famille, où à leur défaut les plus considérable de la cabanne.” Journal Hist. p. 364.

“ Un ancien Missionnaire (le père Claude Allouez, jésuite) qui a beaucoup vécu avec les Outaouais a écrit que, parmi ces sauvages, un viellard fait l'office de prêtre dans les festins, dont je viens de parler ; qu'il commence par remercier les esprits du succès de la chasse ; qu'ensuite un autre prend un pain de petun, le rompt en deux, et le jette dans le feu.” Ibid, p. 350.‡

house of sacrifice," and mentions it as being "in a lonely place*."

On the other hand, Bartram, in his account of the Southern tribes, says, "There is in every town, or tribe, a High Priest, with several inferior, or junior priests, called by the white people jugglers, or conjurers†." To the same purpose, Adair asserts, that they "have their High Priests, and others of a religious order." "Ishtohoollo," he observes, "is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest‡."

Notwithstanding this diversity, however, the difference is more in appearance than in reality. Various meanings attached to the same words, in consequence of arbitrary associations, may produce a diversity of description. If a priest be one whose exclusive duty it is to celebrate the rites of religion, then it must be admitted that a priesthood exists among the Indians; for those who deny that they have priests, allow that in their public sacrifices the chiefs are the only persons authorized to officiate. The only difference, then, lies in this, whether the priesthood be or be not connected with the office of the magistrate.

Among Christians, as among the Jews, the priest-

* Loskiel, p. 39, 40, 42. ad calc. A house of sacrifice is only another name for temple.

† Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, &c.* Lond. 1792. Svo. p. 495.

‡ Adair, *Hist. North American Indians*, p. 80, 81.

hood is distinct from the civil authority ; but previous to the separation of the family of Aaron, these two offices were generally united. Melchizedeck was both king of Salem and priest of the most High God. Jethro was, at the same time, priest and prince of Midian ; and Abraham himself, who is called a prince, performed the sacerdotal functions. We find this union of the regal and sacerdotal characters existing among heathen nations. Homer describes the aged Pylian King as performing religious rites* ; and Virgil tells of the Monarch of Delos, who was both priest and king :

“*Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos*†.”

Among the Creeks, and other Southern Indians, a monarchical form of government seems to prevail ; among the Northern Indians, a republican. In both, the sacerdotal office may be united with civil authority, and therefore partake of its peculiar character. Among the one, it may be hereditary ; among the other, elective. If this be not sufficient to reconcile the discordant accounts, we are bound, I think, to respect the united testimony of Charlevoix and Loskiel, in preference to any other, as they do not appear to have had any system to serve, which might give a bias to their statements. And if this be so, it will be seen that the Religion of the Indians approaches much nearer to the patriarchal, than to that of the Jews. Their public sacerdotal

* *Odyss.* lib. iii. l. 418-460.

† *Æneid.* lib. iii. l. 80.

offices are performed by their chiefs, and in their private, the head of every family is its priest.

V. But there is another office, which Carver, Bartram, and others, have confounded with the priesthood, which exists among all the Indian Tribes, and concerning which, there is no diversity in the statement of travellers. To this class of men, the French Missionaries gave the name of *Jongleurs*, whence the English have derived that of Jugglers or Conjurers. To use the definition of Charlevoix, they are those servants of their Gods, whose duty it is to announce their wishes, and to be their interpreters to men*: or, in the language of Volney, those “whose trade it is, to expound dreams, and to negotiate between the Manitto, and the votary†.” “The Jongleurs of Canada,” says Charlevoix, “boast that by means of the good spirits whom they consult, they learn what is passing in the most remote countries, and what is to come to pass at the most distant period of time; that they discover the origin and nature of the most secret disorders, and obtain the hidden method of curing them; that they discern the course to be pursued in the most intricate affairs; that they learn to explain the obscurest dreams, to give success to the most difficult negotiations, and

* “Ils (the Jongleurs) ne sont néanmoins les ministres de ces Dieux prétendus, que pour annoncer aux hommes leurs volontés, et pour être leurs interprètes: car, si l’on peut donner le nom de sacrifices aux offrandes que ces peuples font à leurs Divinités, *les prêtres parmi eux ne sont jamais les Jongleurs.*” Journal Hist. p. 363-4.

† View of the soil and climate, &c. p. 417.

to render the Gods propitious to warriors and hunters." "I have heard," he adds, "from persons of the most undoubted judgment and veracity, that when these impostors shut themselves up in their sweating stoves, which is one of their most common preparations for the performance of their sleight of hand, they differ in no respect from the descriptions given by the poets, of the priestesses of Apollo, when seated on the Delphic Tripod. They have been seen to fall into convulsions, to assume tones of voice, and to perform actions, which were seemingly superior to human strength, and which inspired with an unconquerable terror, even the most prejudiced spectators." Their predictions were sometimes so surprisingly verified, that Charlevoix seems firmly to have believed, that they had a real intercourse with the father of lies*.

This account of the Jongleurs of Canada, is confirmed by Mr. Heckewelder, in his late work on the Indian Tribes. "They are a set," he observes, "of professional impostors, who, availing themselves of the superstitious prejudices of the people, acquire the name and reputation of men of superior knowledge, and possessed of supernatural powers. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has arisen among them, who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult

* Charlevoix, Journal, p. 361-2.

science, by means of which they are able, not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizards or witches, and expel evil spirits*.”

“There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women—who get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge—to bring down rain when wanted, and to impart good luck to bad hunters. In the summer of 1799, a most uncommon drought happened in the Muskingum country. An old man was applied to by the women to bring down rain, and, after various ceremonies, declared that they should have rain enough. The sky had been clear for nearly five weeks, and was equally clear when the Indian made this declaration. But about four in the afternoon, the horizon became overcast, and, without any thunder or wind, it began to rain, and continued to do so till the ground became thoroughly soaked. Experience had doubtless taught him to observe that certain signs in the sky or in the water were the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power†.” “It is incredible to what a degree the superstitious belief in witchcraft operates on the mind of the Indian. The moment his imagination is struck with the idea that he is bewitched, he is no longer himself. Of this extraordinary power of their conjurers, of the causes which produce it, and the manner in which it is acquired, they have

* Heckewelder, *Hist. Account*, ut *supr.* p. 224.

† Heckewelder, *Hist. Acc. of Indians*, ut *supr.* p. 229—234.

not a very definite idea. The sorcerer, they think, makes use of some deadening substance, which he conveys to the person he means to 'strike,' in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus 'stricken,' is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror. His spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last, a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination*."

A remarkable instance of this belief in the power of these sorcerers, and of the wonderful effects of imagination, is related by Hearne, as having occurred during his residence among the northern or Chepewyan Indians. Matonabee, one of their chiefs, had requested him to kill one of his enemies, who was at that time several hundred miles distant. "To please this great man," says he, "and not expecting that any harm could possibly arise from it, I drew a rough sketch of two human figures on a piece of paper, in the attitude of wrestling; in the hand of one of them I drew the figure of a bayonet, pointing to the breast of the other. 'This,' said I to Matonabee, pointing to the figure which was holding the bayonet, 'is I, and the other is your enemy.' Opposite to those figures I drew a pine tree, over which I placed a large human eye, and out of the tree projected a human hand. This paper I gave to Matonabee, with instructions to make it

* Ibid, p. 232-3

as public as possible. The following year when he came to trade, he informed me that the man was dead. Matonabee assured me, that the man was in perfect health when he heard of my design against him, but almost immediately afterward became quite gloomy, and, refusing all kinds of sustenance, in a very few days died*.”

Bartram, in his account of the manners and habits of the tribes which inhabit Florida and the south of the United States, relates, as their general belief, that “their seer has communion with powerful invisible spirits, who have a share in the government of human affairs, as well as of the elements. His influence is so great, as frequently to turn back an army when within a day’s journey of their enemy, after a march of several hundred miles.” “Indeed,” he adds, “the predictions of these men have surprised many people. They foretel rain or drought, pretend to bring rain at pleasure, cure diseases, exercise witchcraft, invoke or expel evil spirits, and even assume the power of directing thunder and lightning†.”

The power, then, of these impostors, is supposed to consist—in the miraculous cure of diseases—the procuring of rain, and other temporal blessings, in the same supernatural manner—the miraculous infliction of punishment upon the subjects of their displeasure—and the foretelling of future events. It

* Hearne, *Journey to the Northern Ocean*. Dublin, 1796, 8vo. p. 221. Note.

† Bartram, *Travels*, ut supr. p. 495

will immediately be seen, that these are, in fact, the characteristics of the prophetic office; those, I mean, which are external, which produce, therefore, a lasting impression upon the senses of men, and from the force of ocular tradition, would naturally be pretended to, even after the power of God was withdrawn.

That true prophets had such power, is evident from the whole tenor of Sacred History. On their power of predicting future events, it is not necessary to dwell; but it will be seen, that there is a striking analogy between the pretensions of the Indian impostors, and the miracles wrought by the prophets. We have seen, that the former assume the power of curing or inflicting diseases by supernatural means. We find the prophets curing or inflicting the most inveterate diseases, by a word, by a touch, by washing, and other means naturally the most inadequate*. We have seen that the Indian impostors pretend to foretel drought or rain. So, Elijah the Tishbite said to Ahab, "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word†." And again, the same prophet, when there was no appearance of change in the heavens, said to the King, "Get thee up, eat and drink, for there is a sound of abundance of rain‡." We have seen, that among the Indians, the conjurers pretend to inflict punishment

* Thus Naaman was cured of his leprosy by Elisha, and the same disease inflicted by the prophet on his servant Gehazi. 2 Kings, v.

† 1 Kings, xvii. 1.

‡ 1 Kings, xviii. 41.

on their enemies by supernatural means. So we read of a true prophet, that he commanded fire to descend from heaven and consume the soldiers who were sent by the King of Israel to take him*.

But I wish to direct your attention more especially to a very early period of Sacred History, while the Gentiles had not yet entirely apostatized from the worship of the true God, and therefore were not yet wholly cut off from the patriarchal church. In the history of Abraham and Abimelech, we have an instance of the power which prophets possessed of obtaining blessings for others. "Now, therefore," said God to Abimelech, "restore the man his wife: *for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live* †." The same power is attributed to Job, who was probably a descendant of Esau; consequently, not one of the chosen family; and, therefore, a prophet among the Gentiles. "The Lord said to Eliphaz the Temanite, My wrath is kindled against thee and against thy two friends.—Therefore take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt-offering, and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept: lest I deal with you after your folly ‡."

Traces of the same power are to be found in the History of Balaam, the prophet of Midian. When the Israelites, on their passage from Egypt, were passing through the country of Moab, the King of

* 2 Kings, i. 10, 12.

† Gen. xx. 7.

‡ Job, xlii. 7. 8.

the Moabites, alarmed for his personal safety, sent for the prophet to curse them. "Come now, therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me; peradventure, I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land: *for I wot, that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.* And the elders of Moab, and the elders of Midian, departed *with the rewards of divination in their hand*; and they came unto Balaam and spake unto him the words of Balak. And he said unto them, Lodge here this night, and I will bring you word again, as Jehovah shall speak unto me. And God said unto Balaam, Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed*." Here is not only a proof of the power ascribed to the prophet by the nations among whom he dwelt, but a recognition, by God himself, of the authority of Balaam to bless and curse in his name. And here, if I mistake not, we may observe the connecting link between the power of true prophets, and the arts practised by the false, after the divine influence was withdrawn. The elders of Moab and of Midian, it is said, "*departed with the rewards of divination in their hand.*" The inference is inevitable, that Balaam, who undoubtedly had intercourse with the true God, was at times deprived of the divine influence, and that under a sense of that deprivation, he had recourse to the arts of divination. Of this there is farther evidence. "Surely," he exclaims, in

* Numb. xxii. 6, 7, 8, 12.

one of his sublime prophecies, "there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel." And it is subsequently stated, that "when Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments*." When he could not obtain authority from God to curse Israel, he had recourse, in the depravity of his heart, to these unhallowed incantations; but finding that it was in vain to contend with the determination of the Almighty, he resigned himself at length to the divine influence, and converted his intended curse into a blessing. "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel!—Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee†."

In proportion, then, as Idolatry increased, the prophetic spirit in the patriarchal church was gradually withdrawn. While the true God was worshipped, even though in absurd connexion with Idols, the divine influence was sometimes communicated. But being gradually more and more frequently denied, the prophets had recourse to the superstitious observances of divination and judicial astrology. And as Idolatry, in its downward course, at length lost sight of the Creator, and worshipped only the creatures, so the prophetic office degenerated into the arts by which impostors preyed upon the superstition of the ignorant.

I have now, gentlemen, finished the view which I proposed to take of the Religion of the Indians.

* Numb. xxiv. 1.

† Ibid. 5, 9.

I am sensible that it is very imperfect, but enough has been said, I hope, to show the analogy which it bears to the religion of the patriarchal ages, and its wonderful uniformity, when considered as prevailing among nations so remote and unconnected.

It has already been observed, however, that their religious system can afford no clue by which to trace them to any particular nation of the old world. On a subject so obscure as the origin of nations, there is great danger of expatiating in conjectures. In fact, the view here taken, in some measure cuts off these conjectures, by tracing the Aborigines of America, to a higher source than has usually been assigned to them. If the opinion I have advanced be true, it will, I think, appear rational to believe, that the Indians are a primitive people;—that, like the Chinese, they must have been among the earliest emigrants of the descendants of Noah;—that, like that singular nation, they advanced so far beyond the circle of human society, as to become entirely separated from all other men;—and that, in this way, they preserved a more distinct and homogeneous character than is to be found in any other portion of the globe. Whether they came immediately to this western continent, or whether they arrived here by gradual progression, can never be ascertained, and is, in fact, an inquiry of little moment. It is probable, however, that, like the northern hordes who descended upon Europe, and who constituted the basis of its present population, their numbers were great; and that from one vast reservoir, they

flowed onward in successive surges, wave impelling wave, till they had covered the whole extent of this vast continent. At least, this hypothesis may account for the uniform character of their religion, and for the singular fact which has lately been illustrated by a learned member of the American Philosophical Society, that their languages form a separate class in human speech, and that, in their plans of thought, the same system extends from the coasts of Labrador to the extremity of Cape Horn.

But, turning from speculations which are rendered sublime by their shadowy form, and immeasurable magnitude, I shall conclude a discourse which, I fear, has become already tedious, by remarks of a more practical, and, I would hope, of a more useful nature.

We have seen that, like all other nations unblessed with the light of Christianity, the Indians are idolators; but their idolatry is of the mildest character, and has departed less than among any other people from the form of primeval truth.—Their belief in a future state is clear and distinct, debased only by those corporeal associations which proceed from the constitutional operations of our nature, and from which even Christians, therefore, are not totally exempt—They retain among them the great principle of expiation for sin, without which all religion would be unavailing—And they acknowledge, in all the common occurrences of life, and even in their very superstitions, the overruling power of Divine Providence, to which they are accustomed to look up

with an implicit confidence, which might often put to shame the disciples of a purer faith.

Provided, then, that their suspicions respecting every gift bestowed by the hands of white men, can be overcome, the comparative purity of their religion renders it so much the easier to propagate among them the Gospel of Salvation. In this view, is it possible for the benevolent heart to restrain the rising wish, that the scanty remnant of this unfortunate race may be brought within the verge of civilized life, and made to feel the influence, the cheering and benign influence, of Christianity? Is it not to be wished, that the God whom they ignorantly worship, may be declared to them, and that, together with the practices they have so long preserved, may be united that doctrine which alone can illumine what is obscure, and unravel what is intricate? If this be desirable, it must be done quickly, or the opportunity will be for ever lost. Should our prejudices prevent it, we must remember that their faults will be obscured, and their virtues brightened by the tints of time. Posterity will think of them, more in pity than in anger, and will blame us for the little regard which has been paid to their welfare.

Hapless nations!—Like the mists which are exhaled by the scorching radiance of your summer's sun, ye are fast disappearing from the earth. But there is a Great Spirit above, who, though for wise purposes he causes you to disappear from the earth, still extends his protecting care to you, as well as

to the rest of his creatures.—There is a country of Souls, a happier, and better country, which will be opened, we may charitably hope, to you, as well as to the other children of Adam.—There is the atoning blood of the Redeemer, which was shed for you, as well as the rest of mankind; the efficacy of which, you have unwittingly continued to plead; and which may be extended, in its salutary influence, even to those who have never called on, because they have never heard, THE NAME OF THE SON OF GOD.

CHAPTER XV.

LANGUAGE OF THE INDIANS,

By PETER S. DUPONCEAU, ESQ., (*of Philadelphia.*)

MORE than two years having elapsed since, by the desire of the Historical Committee, I had the honour of carrying on a Correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder, of Bethlehem, the object of which, in connexion with a course of studies which I was pursuing at the same time, and to which my leisure moments have since been devoted, was to investigate and ascertain, as much as possible, the structure and grammatical forms of the Languages of the Aboriginal Nations of America. The committee have been pleased to express a wish that I should report to them the further results of my subsequent inquiries into this highly interesting subject; so that it might appear whether the views which I took of it in the beginning were confirmed by a deeper and more accurate research, or whether those views had proceeded from too hasty conclusions from particular facts. I have delayed to the last moment the performance of this duty, in order to profit by all the facts and observations which I might be able to collect in the mean time. The first volume of the committee's transactions, of which the said corre-

spondence makes a part, being now entirely printed, except the introductory matter which the committee may think proper to prefix to it, I cannot postpone any longer the execution of the task expected from me.

In the first place, I wish to state, that when I entered upon the present investigation, I had no favourite hypothesis or theory to support. Whether the Indian population of this country took its origin from the Tartars, or from any other race of men; whether America was peopled from any of the countries of the old hemisphere, or those from America, are questions upon which I have never yet employed my mind. I have purposely left it free, that I might pursue my philological inquiries in an abstract point of view, unmixed and unconnected with those more important subjects on which their results, when fully ascertained, may, perhaps, ultimately throw light. My sole object has been to endeavour, by means of the study of the Indian Languages, to collect some facts of which philosophy might avail itself to extend the bounds of our limited knowledge of the all-important history of man.

I have, it is true, generalised my observations as much as possible. My inquiries have not been confined to one Indian language, or only to a few: I wished to take a bird's eye view of the whole, as the only means of obtaining some interesting results. I was anxious to know, in the first instance, whether the American idioms differed as essentially from each other as those of the nations who inhabit the Old Continent. That they so differ in point of etymo-

logy is a fact too well known and established to admit even a doubt; nothing therefore remained for me to inquire into, but the similarity or difference of their general construction or grammatical forms. Next followed of course their comparison with the idioms of the Trans-Atlantic Hemisphere. I fixed my mind upon these points, and made them the principal object of my researches.

In this investigation of facts, I have not drawn my information indiscriminately from every source, otherwise I should very soon have been lost in a labyrinth of contradictions. I left no book or manuscript unconsulted that came within my reach; but I examined the assertions of each writer with a critical eye, fully determined in no case to swear on the word of a master. I tried to discover the sources from which my authors had derived their knowledge; the opportunities which they had of acquiring it; the time which they had spent among the Indians, or in the study of their languages; the degree of attention which they had bestowed upon it, and the powers of mind by which they had been enabled to take a just and an accurate view of their subject. Finally, I rejected every thing that came in the shape of mere assertion, and paid attention only to those specimens of the different idioms in which their grammatical structure was sufficiently exhibited. I found more of these than I had at first expected, and was enabled by their means to take that wide range of observation, which alone could serve the purpose I had in view.

I have derived no little aid from that excellent

work ably commenced by the late Professor Adelung*, and no less ably continued by our learned associate Professor Vater, and another Adelung†, not inferior to his predecessor. I mean the *Mithridates*‡, which I do not hesitate to call the most astonishing philological collection that the world has ever seen. It contains an epitome of all the existing knowledge of the ancient and modern languages of the whole earth. It exhibits specimens of the words of each language, by means of which their affinities can be traced as far as etymology may help to discover them, with a delineation of their forms, syntax, construction, and general grammatical character, exemplified in the greatest number of cases by the Lord's Prayer in each language and dialect, with a literal German translation interlined, and followed by a commentary in which every sentence is parsed and the meaning of each word given, with an explanation of the grammatical sense and form in which it is employed. Of this extensive work two volumes§

* Author of the great German Dictionary, and other celebrated literary works.

† The Hon. Frederick Adelung, of St. Petersburg, Counsellor of State, Member of the Imperial Russian Academy, and of this Society. He is the nephew and worthy successor of the great Adelung.

‡ *Mithridates, oder Allgemeine Sprachenkunde*, &c. *Mithridates*, or the general Science of Languages, with the Lord's Prayer as a specimen, in nearly five hundred languages and dialects. Berlin, 1806—1817, 4 vols. bound in 6 octavo. The last volume consists of valuable additions to the former ones, by Mr. F. Adelung, and by Baron William Von Humboldt, who has enriched it with an excellent dissertation on the Basque language.

§ These are called the 2d and 3d parts of the third volume, and contain together no less than 574 pages. The whole of this third volume and the best part of the second are the work of Professor Vater.

are exclusively dedicated to the languages of the Indians of North and South America, and give a condensed view of all the information which heretofore has existed in print upon this subject.

From the labours of the Missionaries of the Society of the United Brethren in this country, I have derived considerable assistance. With a view to promote the Christian faith and the civilization of the aborigines of the country, those venerable men had written a number of grammars, dictionaries, and other elementary works on the Indian languages, which being intended merely for the use of their young ministers, were unknown to the rest of the world, and would have remained for ever buried in obscurity, had not the exertions of the Historical Committee brought them to light, and rendered them more generally useful. By their means the forms and construction of the two principal mother tongues of this country, the Delaware and the Iroquois, are become sufficiently known. Professor Vater has not given a very particular description of either, for want of materials to work upon; for neither the English nor the French, who were both so long in possession of the northern part of the American continent, had taken pains to furnish them.

I have the honour of annexing to this report a list of the various grammars, dictionaries, vocabularies, and other MS. works on Indian languages, which have been presented or communicated to the Historical Committee in aid of their researches. It will be

easily perceived how much advantage has been derived from them in the course of inquiries which I have been directed to make. I have, moreover, obtained much additional information from the correspondence which I have carried on with Missionaries and others at home and abroad, and which is every day becoming more extensive and interesting. I have found everywhere the greatest readiness to promote the objects that we have in view; in the south, the Honourable Josiah Meigs, the Government's Commissioner for Indian Affairs, has professed his willingness to aid our pursuits by all the means in his power; and in the north, the Right Reverend Catholic Bishop of Quebec, with a liberality worthy of his exalted character and station, has opened and facilitated to us the means of correspondence with the Missionaries of his persuasion, who reside among the Indians of Canada. From these rich and numerous sources your Secretary flatters himself that much light will be thrown on the character and affinities of the aboriginal languages of this part of the American continent, particularly the southern idioms, which are yet very little known.

I have made the best use in my power of these various sources of information, and have besides neglected none of the opportunities that have fallen in my way of conversing with Indians, interpreters, and other persons practically skilled in the different languages; I have to regret that too few such opportunities have offered; for I have obtained

much knowledge from those living instructors which books do not, and much which they cannot, communicate.

These are the means through which I have been hitherto enabled to pursue the inquiry which the committee directed me to make into the forms and character of the languages of the American Indians. I have proceeded in this laborious investigation with an anxious wish to discover the truth, and have endeavoured to keep my mind as much as possible free from the bias of preconceived opinions. As far as my researches have gone, I have yet found nothing to induce me to change the view which I at first took of my subject, or to come to conclusions materially different from those which I drew in my correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder. It becomes my duty, therefore, to state those conclusions, and lay before the committee the facts subsequently ascertained by which they may appear to be contradicted or supported. It is of little consequence, perhaps, whether these general inferences are correct or not, provided their truth or falsity is thought of sufficient importance to give a precise, and at the same time an interesting direction to the study of the Indian languages; for it must be acknowledged that there is but little attraction in the mere search after insulated facts.

Three principal results have forcibly struck my mind. I do not state them to the committee as positive facts; it would be highly presumptuous in me so to do. The knowledge which the world in general has acquired of the American languages is yet

very limited ; that which I individually possess is extremely so. But in pursuing a course of studies the committee have very properly judged that it is necessary to have some fixed object in view ; and therefore have specially directed me to endeavour to ascertain the general and relative character of the aboriginal idioms of this country. I proceed then, from the hypotheses which, on the most attentive consideration of the whole subject, have appeared to me the most probable ; if I have been mistaken, further inquiries will shew it, and will, perhaps, lead to more important discoveries ; in the contrary supposition, the attention of philosophers will have been drawn to facts not unworthy of it. With the greatest diffidence, therefore, I beg the committee will permit me to state and illustrate the three propositions which I wish to submit to the further investigation of the learned. They are the following:

1. That the American languages in general are rich in words and in grammatical forms, and that in their complicated construction, the greatest order, method, and regularity prevail.

2. That these complicated forms, which I call *polysynthetic*, appear to exist in all those languages, from Greenland to Cape Horn.

3. That these forms appear to differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the old hemisphere.

In the course of the observations which I shall make upon each of these three propositions or rather questions most respectfully submitted, I shall make

it my particular duty to report to the committee the various facts which I have been able to ascertain since I had the honour of corresponding by their order with Mr. Heckewelder, and point out to them the sources from which those facts have been drawn. In support of the general views which I have taken of the forms and construction of the American languages, I shall content myself in most cases with referring to the principal authorities from which those views have been deduced. As the subject is already familiar to the committee, and it is a report and not a dissertation that I conceive to be expected from me, I shall avoid fatiguing their patience with numerous verbal examples, in proof of the facts that I shall adduce as the result of my studies. If my conclusions should be erroneous, all I can do is to furnish the means of correcting them. I proceed, therefore, to the consideration of my subject.

FIRST QUESTION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES. To fix the general character of the aboriginal languages of this extensive continent, it is not necessary to go into minute details, nor to confuse our imagination by too extensive a display of its numerous idioms; it is sufficient, I think, for our purpose, to select a few of those that are best known, and the principles of which have been most satisfactorily explained in approved grammatical works. In making this selection, however, we are not to confine ourselves to a particular part of the country; but

to take the widest possible range, so as to adduce examples from quarters the most remote from each other. In this manner, I conceive, we can take a commanding position, assume our general rule, and call for exceptions.

Pursuing this plan, I have selected in the north the three principal mother tongues, the Karalit or language of Greenland, and the Esquimaux, the Delaware, and the Iroquois. That the two former are constructed on the true polysynthetic plan, the works of Egede and Crantz, and Mr. Heckewelder's correspondence, sufficiently prove; and as to the Iroquois, the committee have before them the grammatical works of the Missionaries, Pylæus and Zeisberger, by which they may easily be convinced that in this language also the polysynthetic forms prevail.

In middle America, I shall instance the Poconchi, a language spoken in the province of Guatemala, of which Thomas Gage in his voyage to New Spain has given a short description, by which, however, its polysynthetic character sufficiently appears; and also the Mexican proper, and the Tarascan dialect, with their reflected, transitive, compulsive, applicative, meditative, communicative, reverential, and frequentative verbs, and other complex forms, which are well explained and exemplified by Tapia Zenteno, F. Antonio de Rincon, and F. Diego Basalenque, in their grammars of those languages, which are in our Society's library. Those that we have of the other dialects of Mexico are extremely deficient; their authors having too much endeavoured to make their

grammatical construction square with the rules of the Latin and Spanish grammar. Yet enough may be drawn from them, and from other sources, to satisfy us that they also partake of the general character of American languages. Zenteno's grammar of the Huastecan informs us that it has the compulsive or causative and the transitive verbs, and the pronominal affixes*, which we find also to exist in the Mixtecan†; even in the Othomi, of which a very insufficient view is given in the grammar of Neve y Molina, the Mithridates has enabled us to discover analogous forms‡. It appears that several of those who have written grammars of American languages have said little of their complex structure, from the difficulty of explaining it. Molina, in the introduction to the third part of his Othomi grammar, observes that that language is believed by many to be so difficult as not to be at all reducible to rules§. Therefore, in order to cut this Gordian knot, he has given only those forms which are the most analogous to the principles of his own language. This ought always to be borne in mind by those who pursue the study of the American idioms.

South America remains. I think it sufficient to notice at its two extremities the Caribbee and Arau-

* Pages 15, 37.

† Dzutundon, *our father*. Sananini, *thy name*. Tasinisindo, *give us*. See the Lord's prayer in the Mixtecan language, in the Mithridates, Vol. III. part iii. page 41.

‡ Mahteihe, *our father*. Punnocahe, *forgive us*. Neibucakengu, *as we*. Ibid. p. 118.

§ Page 97.

canian languages. Of the former there is a very good grammar and a dictionary by Father Breton ; and the grammatical character of the latter has been well displayed by the Abbé Molina in his excellent History of Chili. I believe I need not do more than refer to those works to prove that these two languages are polysynthetic in the highest degree, and that the greatest analogy exists between their forms and those of the idioms of the northern parts of this continent. I beg leave to adduce one single example to illustrate the extraordinary similarity which subsists between the languages of the north and south. The Abbé Molina, amidst a number of compound verbs in the Araucanian language, instances the verb "*iduanclavín*," "I do not wish to eat with him." I once asked Mr. Heckewelder whether there was any similar verb in the Delaware, and he immediately gave me *n'schingiwipoma*, "I do not like to eat with him." A stronger feature of resemblance in point of grammatical construction between the idioms of nations placed at such an immense distance from each other, cannot, I think, be exhibited, and with this and the references I have above made, I believe I may, for the present, rest satisfied.

If I have shewn it to be, at least, sufficiently probable, that polysynthetic forms are the general characteristic of the American Indian languages, I need only refer to Mr. Heckewelder's correspondence, to prove that those forms, as exemplified by him in the Delaware, are such as I have described them ; that they are rich, copious, expressive, and particularly

that the greatest order, method and analogy reign through them. To endeavour to give better proof of this fact, than those which that learned gentleman has given, would be a waste of labour and time. Indeed, from the view which he offers of the Lenni Lenape idiom, it would rather appear to have been formed by philosophers in their closets, than by savages in the wilderness. If it should be asked how this can have happened, I can only answer, that I have been ordered to collect and ascertain facts, not to build theories. There remains a great deal yet to be ascertained, before we can venture to search into remote causes.

As the Delaware appears in the delineations which Mr. Heckewelder has given of it, so the other languages, formed on the same model, have appeared to me ; and indeed it can hardly be supposed that with similar means, different effects will be produced. Wherever the polysynthetic form of language prevails, it is natural to presume that it is accompanied with all its inherent qualities, which are those which I have above described. The manner in which words are compounded in that particular mode of speech, the great number and variety of ideas which it has the power of expressing in one single word, (particularly by means of the verbs,) all these stamp its character for abundance, strength, and comprehensiveness of expression, in such a manner, that those accidents must be considered as included in the general descriptive term *polysynthetic*. Nor can this class of languages be divested, even in imagination,

of the admirable order, method and regularity, which pervade them ; for it is evident that without these, such complicated forms of language could not subsist, and the confusion which would follow would render them unfit even for the communication of the most simple ideas. A simple language may be, perhaps, unmethodical ; but one which is highly complicated, and in which the parts of speech are to a considerable degree interwoven with each other, I humbly conceive, never can.

Still, I am aware that this statement of facts will have many prejudices to encounter. It has been said, and will be said again, that “ Savages “ having but few ideas, can want but few words, “ and therefore that their languages must necessarily be poor.” Whether savages have or have not many ideas, it is not my province to determine : all I can say is, that if it is true that their ideas are few, it is not less certain that they have many words to express them. I might even say that they have an innumerable quantity of words, for, as Colden very justly observes, “ they have the “ power and the means of compounding them without “ end*.”

Permit me, Sir, to add to the numerous proofs which Mr. Heckewelder has given of the copiousness of the Indian languages, a strong example, taken, not from the Delaware, but from the Iroquois, idiom. Of this we knew very little until the gram-

* See Heckewelder's Correspondence, page 390.

mathematical works of Pyrlæus and Zeisberger, and the dictionary of the latter, which were thought irretrievably lost, were fortunately recovered. By the liberality of the venerable Society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem, this dictionary is now deposited in our Society's Library. It is German and Indian, beginning with the German: the counterpart, it seems, never was undertaken; at least, no traces of it are to be found. But the part that we have fills alone seven quarto manuscript volumes, containing together not less than two thousand three hundred and sixty-seven pages. It is true, that one-half of each page is left blank for a margin; but allowing one-fourth as the usual space for that purpose, it still leaves one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five pages of writing, consisting of German words and phrases, with their translation into Indian. It must be acknowledged that there are not many dictionaries of this size; and if this is filled (as there is no reason to doubt) with genuine Iroquois, it is in vain to speak of the poverty of that language.

I wish to avoid as much as possible entering into tedious details; but perhaps it will not be amiss, by way of example, to make one or two short extracts out of this book, to shew that the ideas and words of Indians are not, as many suppose, confined to the expression of things relating to their usual occupations and physical existence.

In the first volume, under the letter B, and the German word *Bankerott*, we find:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>Er hat bankerott gemacht</i> | } | <i>In iroquois.</i> |
| He is a bankrupt, or has | | <i>Ohne hawaheje,</i> |
| become bankrupt. | | <i>Ohne jachstennahote hoje.</i> |

And in the third volume, under the letter I, and the German word *Inwendig*, inward, inwardly.

| | | |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Inwardly, | | <i>Nacu, gajatacu.</i> |
| Inward heat, | | <i>Otariche gajatacu.</i> |
| Inward rest, | } | <i>Jonigochrrio,</i> |
| A quiet conscience, | | <i>Scæno agonochtonnie gajatacu.</i> |

What is inwardly concealed *Nonahote nacu ne sehta.*

The committee have now the means of judging whether “the Indians have few ideas, and few words to express them.” For my part, I confess that I am lost in astonishment at the copiousness and admirable structure of their languages, for which I can only account by looking up to the GREAT FIRST CAUSE.

SECOND QUESTION.

SIMILARITY OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES WITH EACH OTHER, IN RESPECT OF GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

I have already taken a general view of this question in my examination of the first, and it was impossible not to do so, as they are so very intimately connected together. I have endeavoured to shew that the forms which I call polysynthetic are found in the languages of various nations, situated at immense distances from each other, in the northern,

middle, and southern parts of this continent. I am now to inquire still further whether those forms exist in *all* the languages of the American Indians. The committee will immediately perceive that it is impossible to decide this question in its full extent, as most of those languages are unknown to us, and many are yet but imperfectly known. We can therefore only speak of our actual knowledge; and as far as the means that we have in our power enable us so to do, endeavour to judge, by what is open to our view, of what is still concealed from us. An hypothetical theory is the utmost point to which the most laborious researches can at present lead us; it will not be unimportant, however, to ascertain, as far as we can, the facts within our reach, and if we should find a striking similarity in the construction of those Indian languages that we are best acquainted with, it will afford much matter for present wonder and future investigation.

I have explained elsewhere what I mean by a *polysynthetic* or *syntactic* construction of language*. It is that in which the greatest number of ideas are comprised in the least number of words. This is done principally in two ways. 1. By a mode of compounding locutions which is not confined to joining two words together, as in the Greek, or varying the inflection or termination of a radical word as in most European languages, but by interweaving together the most significant sounds or syllables of each simple word, so as to form a compound that

* Correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder, p. 401,

will awaken in the mind at once all the ideas singly expressed by the words from which they are taken.

2. By an analogous combination of the various parts of speech, particularly by means of the verb, so that its various forms and inflections will express not only the principal action, but the greatest possible number of the moral ideas and physical objects connected with it, and will combine itself to the greatest extent with those conceptions which are the subject of other parts of speech, and in other languages require to be expressed by separate and distinct words. Such I take to be the general character of the Indian languages.

Their most remarkable external appearance is that of long polysyllabic words, which, being compounded in the manner I have stated, express much at once. Another striking trait which may be generally observed in their construction, is the frequent combination of the possessive pronoun and of different prepositions with the substantive, and above all the *transitive* form of the verb, which combines in the same word the ideas of the governing pronoun and of that which is governed. Wherever in Indian languages I have found these distinctive signs, and have had the means of investigating farther, I have generally discovered the whole polysynthetic system in the construction of the particular idiom. But in many instances I have not had those means of investigation at command. Among those who have pretended to give information on these subjects, there have been few Abbé Molinas, few Egedes, few Zeisbergers, few Heckewelders. Nor

can we expect that the Adelungs, the Vaters, and the Humboldts, will visit this country to study the languages of our Indians ; though we have reason to believe that were not the distance so great, they would not want the spirit to do it*. We must, therefore, take our means and sources of information as we find them, and make the best use of them in our power.

The idea that the languages of the Indians are all constructed merely on the same model, occurred to me early in the course of the studies which I was directed by the committee to pursue. It will be found distinctly expressed in my correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder. Since that time my inquiries have been principally directed to ascertaining the correctness of this opinion. I beg the committee will be pleased to follow me in the account which I am going to give of the further researches that I have made.

1. I had heard much of the excellent work which I have before mentioned, the *Mithridates*, but had not been able to procure a copy of it. At last, the late lamented Professor Ebeling, of Hamburg, had the goodness to send me the two volumes which relate to American languages, and I have since been so fortunate as to procure a complete copy of the work. There for the first time I had abundant materials to work upon. Thanks to the Germans and

* Baron William Von Humboldt, surrounded with the honours and dignities of his country, made a journey into the mountains of Biscay, and resided there some months, for the sole purpose of studying the Basque language.

Russians, our masters, to whose able and indefatigable exertions the general science of languages is peculiarly indebted for the great progress that it has lately made !

In this invaluable book I have found a delineation of the grammatical character of thirty-four American languages, and the Lord's prayer in fifty-nine different idioms or dialects of the savages of this country, with explanations more or less full, according to the means which the author had of giving them. Among all the examples which Professor Vater has given of those different languages, I have not found one that did not appear to me to partake more or less of the polysynthetic forms, and I observed those forms to be more and more apparent in proportion as the construction of the language was better known and more fully explained. As this book is before the world, I need only refer to it for the proof of what I have advanced.

2. Among the languages of the grammatical forms of which Professor Vater had it not in his power to give a sufficient delineation, is the Iroquois, or language of the five confederated nations. The grammars and dictionaries which the Society of the United Brethren has kindly communicated, have proved it to be also *polysynthetic*.

3. The description which Professor Vater gives of the language of the Aruwaks, a nation of Indians who inhabit Guayana, near Surinam*, shews it

* Mithridates, vol. III. part ii. p. 667.

sufficiently to be of the same character; this has moreover been confirmed by an excellent grammar and dictionary of that language, composed by the Reverend Theodore Schultz, of Schoeneck, near Nazareth, in this state, who long resided among them. These works are now deposited in our Society's library by the kindness of the author.

4. The language of the Chippeways, which Professor Vater once thought to be almost entirely destitute of grammatical forms*, has been proved by the Reverend Mr. Dencke†, to be constructed on the same model with the Delaware, of which it is a dialect, and which is itself one of the richest languages on this continent.

5. Being desirous of ascertaining the character of the Southern or Floridian languages, (as yet so little known to us,) I took the liberty of addressing some questions on the subject to the Reverend Mr. Daniel S. Butrick, a minister of the Moravian persuasion, who resides among the Cherokees‡. I had soon the pleasure to receive an answer from him, in which he gives such a description of the Cherokee language as leaves no doubt of its being polysynthetic in the highest degree. Among other things he informs me that the pronouns and the verbs have three plural numbers; the general plural, *we*, speaking without restriction; the particular plural, *we*, speaking of a

* Untersuchungen über Amerikas Bevölkerung, p. 192.

† Correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder, p. 427.

‡ Not *Cheerakes*, as Adair, Barton, and others, have fancifully called them. They call themselves *Chelokees*, (their language wanting the *R*,) with the second syllable long and accented. I have been so informed by Indians of that nation with whom I have conversed.

particular company or description of men, and the dual. He gives instances of these three plurals, as well as of several other polysynthetic forms. The verbs are as rich as those of the Chippeway and Delaware. I hope the committee will derive much interesting information from the continuation of this correspondence.

In one of my letters to Mr. Heckewelder, I was led to suppose that the Abbé Molina had mistaken the particular plural in the Araucanian language for the dual*. I am now rather inclined to believe that the Araucanian has the three plurals, and that the Abbé only spoke of two, not wishing to swell too much a work which was not exclusively devoted to language. It is a fact well worth ascertaining.

6. I have obtained similar information respecting the Chickasaw, (another southern language,) from two interpreters of that nation, with whom I had lately an opportunity of conversing†. They furnished me with numerous examples, by which I was convinced that that language, as well as that of the Choctaws, is highly polysynthetic. It possesses also three plurals, and I believe the Choctaw has them likewise‡.

* Correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder, p. 435.

† *Ibbaryou Klittubbey*, otherwise called Martin Colbert, and Killpatrick Carter. They both are intelligent men, well skilled in the Chickasaw and Choctaw languages.

‡ The Tarascan language, (a Mexican dialect,) possesses analogous plural forms in the construction of its verbs; as for example:

Inspeni, *to give in general.*

Insuani, *to give to many.*

Inscuni, *to give to one person.*

Basalenque's Grammar, p. 44.

7. I was very anxious to get correct information concerning the Wyandot or Huron language, of which Lord Monboddo and others had given such a strange character, and which was only known to me from Father Sagard's imperfect dictionary, when I fortunately became acquainted with Messrs. Isaac Walker and Robert Armstrong, both interpreters of that nation, to whom the language has been familiar from their infancy. I shewed them the dictionary of Father Sagard, in which, amidst its numerous errors and mistakes, which they easily discovered and pointed out, they gladly recognised the language of their nation. It did not appear to them to have undergone any material change in the period of two hundred years since that book was written, which sufficiently contradicts the good father's assertion in his preface, that that language is so constantly changing, that after a lapse of time it appears almost entirely new. They were greatly astonished, when I shewed them that part of the preface in which the author says : that the Huron is *une langue presque sans règles, et tellement imparfaite, qu'un plus habile que lui (Sagard) se trouveroit bien empêché, non pas de le critiquer, mais de mieux faire** ; notwithstanding that, I cannot express the pleasure which they received from that little book. By the help of

* " A language almost without rules, and so very imperfect, that a person of greater abilities than himself, would be much at a loss, not to criticise his work, but to do better." This is always the language of those whose minds cannot comprehend or explain the polysynthetic forms. See above, p. 13.

it, after I had become a little familiar with their pronunciation, I ventured to ask them some questions in the Huron, several of which I had the satisfaction to find they understood and answered. The language appeared to me to be sweet and harmonious; the accent is in general placed on the last syllable and sometimes on the penultima; they often articulate double consonants like the Italians; they have the nasal vowels of the French, but pronounce them in a more delicate manner, not unlike that of the Creoles of the French West Indies: upon the whole I think I may say that there is a great deal of music in the idiom. One of the interpreters, at my request, recited slowly and with emphasis part of a speech, by which I acquired a pretty clear idea of the modulation of the language.

On the subject of its grammatical forms, I obtained from those gentlemen all the satisfaction that I could require. They gave me several examples of simple and compound verbs, with their various forms, by which I was fully satisfied that the Huron is constructed on the same plan with the other North-American languages, and is equally rich and copious. I observed with pleasure that it possesses also the three plurals.

Thus all the inquiries and researches that I have been able to make, since this branch of science was specially referred to me for investigation by the Historical Committee, have led to the same result. It has not yet been in my power to find one single well-ascertained exception to the general

principle of construction, which seems to pervade the American Indian languages. I have found them all, whenever I have had sufficient data to ascertain their character, of the class which I have denominated *polysynthetic*, merely for the sake of designation, and without meaning to affix any other importance to the name. For I am well convinced that the science is not yet ripe for a complete and correct classification of all existing idioms and dialects; when that is the case we must expect that the Linneus of languages will appear, and give to each class its proper and fixed denomination.

The committee will not suppose that my labours are at an end. I consider them only begun. The greatest part of the time which I have devoted to this subject has hitherto been spent in preparatory studies, which will enable me, in future, to pursue this investigation with greater effect. By means of the extensive correspondence which I have secured, in Europe, as well as in America, I hope it will be in my power to discover interesting facts, which will lead to a better knowledge than we yet possess of the genius and character of the languages of America.

Among the materials which the committee has collected, are a considerable number of vocabularies of various languages of the north and south of this part of our continent. Of those it may be supposed that little use can be made towards the principal object of this inquiry. But I conceive it to be otherwise. When the student has become tolerably

conversant with Indian languages, and is familiarized as it were, with their physiognomy, he acquires a greater degree of perception, which enables him to judge with more or less certainty, sometimes by a single insulated word, of their general construction and grammatical forms. Their verbal affinities aid him considerably in this respect; for it is natural to suppose, and has hitherto always been found to be the case, that languages which their etymology shews to be derived from the same stock, partake of the forms and construction of the mother tongue and of each other. If this hypothesis is correct, the language of the *Washash* Indians, commonly called *Osages*, of which the committee possess a vocabulary by Dr. Murray of Louisville, from its affinity with the Naudowessie and Huron, may be considered as a dialect derived from the Iroquois stock, and presumed to be, like it, polysynthetic in its forms. By means of this vocabulary we have acquired a knowledge of the wide-spread extent of the family of Indian nations of Iroquois origin, which not long ago were thought to exist only in the vicinity of the great lakes, while we are enabled to trace them even to the banks of the Missouri. Thus one branch of knowledge comes in aid of another, and a course of studies pursued with a sole view to languages, by pointing out the various families and connexions of Indian nations, may, perhaps, lead to the discovery of their origin.

THIRD QUESTION.

AMERICAN LANGUAGES CONSIDERED IN RELATION
TO THOSE OF THE OLD WORLD.

When we cast our eyes for the first time on the original structure of the languages of the American Indians, and consider the numerous novel forms with which they abound, it is impossible to resist the impression which **forces** itself upon us, that we are among the aboriginal inhabitants of a *New World*. We find a *new* manner of compounding words from various roots, so as to strike the mind at once with a whole mass of ideas ; a *new* manner of expressing the cases of substantives, by inflecting the verbs which govern them ; a *new* number, (the particular plural,) applied to the declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs ; a *new* concordance in tense of the conjunction with the verb ; we see not only pronouns, as in the Hebrew and some other languages, but adjectives, conjunctions, adverbs, combined with the principal part of speech, and producing an immense variety of verbal forms. When we consider these, and many other singularities which so eminently characterize the American idioms, we naturally ask ourselves the question : Are languages, formed on this model, to be found in any other part of the earth ?

I cannot but consider this question as very interesting, as it may lead to important discoveries in the history of man. That there are languages in which some of the forms which characterize those of

the Indians are to be found, is a fact too well known to be controverted. We know that the Hebrew, particularly, has the pronominal affixes, the transitive and reflected verbs, and that the gender is even expressed in it sometimes by a modification of that part of speech; we know also that the transitive forms of verbs are found in other languages than the Hebrew and its kindred idioms; but the question is not reduced to this; we are to inquire whether, amidst the numerous languages of the old world, there are any that can be said to bear a sufficient analogy in point of construction and forms to those of our Indians, to entitle them to be placed in the same class with them.

This question is not entirely new. Professor Vater, whose extensive knowledge of languages peculiarly fitted him for its investigation, has taken the pains to compare almost every language with those of the American Indians, with a view to ascertain whether they were equalled in the numerous combinations of their *verbs*. I shall not attempt to go over the same ground which he has so ably and so laboriously examined; but taking up the subject where he left it, and extending the inquiry to the whole grammatical system, I hope I shall not be thought presumptuous if I take the liberty of adding a few observations of my own.

This eminent philologist tells us, that among all the languages which he took the pains to compare with those of the American Indians, in order to ascertain whether any of them possessed combina-

tions of the verbs similar to theirs, he could find but three which in this respect could be assimilated to them ; which were, in Europe, the *Basque** ; in Asia, the *Tschuktschi*† ; and in Africa, the idiom of *Congo*‡.

Let me be permitted to say a few words on each of those languages.

I. The *BASQUE*. I once was inclined to believe with Professor Vater, partly on his authority, and partly from the feeble light which I thought I drew from the comparison of a book translated into this language with its original§, that the forms of its verbs were similar to those of the American Indians. I had not yet seen at that time the *Mithridates*, in which the peculiar construction of that idiom is fully explained by the Professor himself at the beginning of the second volume, and by a learned dissertation of Baron William von Humboldt in the fourth. Then I began to be acquainted for the first time with a language which I believe has not its fellow in all the rest of the world. It is preserved in a corner of Europe, by a few thousand mountaineers, the sole remaining fragment of, perhaps, a hundred dialects, constructed on the same plan, which probably existed and were universally spoken at a remote period in that quarter of the globe. Like the bones of the Mammoth, and the shells of unknown fishes, the races of which have perished, it remains a frightful monument of the immense destruction produced by

* Untersuchungen über Amerikas Bevölkerung, p. 210.

† Mithridates, Vol. I. p. 563. - ‡ Untersuchungen, &c. p. 211.

§ Corresp. with Mr. Heckewelder, p. 432.

a succession of ages. There it stands single and alone of its kind, surrounded by idioms whose modern construction bears no kind of analogy to it. It is a strange and a singular language; like those of the Indians, highly artificial in its forms, and so compounded as to express many ideas at the same time; but when those forms are compared with those of the American languages, it is impossible not to perceive the immense difference which exists between them. It will be sufficient for my purpose to exemplify it in one single point.

It is one of the most striking traits in the Indian languages, that they are entirely deficient of our auxiliary verbs *to have*, and *to be*. There are no words that I know in any American idioms to express abstractedly the ideas signified by those two verbs. They have the verb *sto*, I am, (in a particular situation or place,) but not the verb *sum**; the verbs

* Molina, in his Grammar of the Othomi language gives the conjugation of a verb which, he says, corresponds to the Latin *sum, es, fui*; but I am inclined to believe that he is mistaken, and that this verb answers to *stare, sto*, as in the other American languages. For he says, afterwards, that it is never used in conjunction with an adjective, and that to express, for instance, *I am rich*, the adjective takes the form of a verb, and is itself conjugated, as in Latin, *sapio*, "I am wise," *frigeo*, "I am cold." Nor is it ever used as an auxiliary in the conjugation of other verbs. Therefore I do not see how it can be applied in its mere substantive sense. In the Mexican language, Zenteno acknowledges that it is absolutely wanting, and that it is impossible to translate into that idiom the "I am that I am," of the sacred writings. (*Arte Mexic.* p. 30.) I have in vain endeavoured to obtain a translation of that sentence into Delaware from Mr. Heckewelder, and I believe it cannot be literally rendered into any American language.

possideo, teneo, but not *habeo*, in the vague sense that we affix to it. On the contrary, in the conjugation of the Basque verbs, these two auxiliaries are every thing; it is on them that is lavished all that profusion of forms which enables them to express together the relative ideas connected with the verb; while the principal action or passion is expressed separately and by itself by means of a participle. For instance, *I love him* is a transitive verb and is rendered in the Basque by *maitetuba dot*, which literally means *amatum illum habeo ego*. *Maitetuba* is the word which expresses the participial form *amatum*; the three other ideas are comprised in the monosyllable *dot*, the first letter of which, *d*, stands for *illum*; *o* is the root of the auxiliary verb *habeo*, and *t* represents the personal pronoun *ego**. It may be said, indeed, that these forms are complicated like those of the Indian verbs, and that like them they serve to express complex ideas; at the same time the difference in their arrangement is so great that it cannot be said that those languages are connected with or derived from each other. There are several other essential differences in the structure of the Basque idiom from those of the American Indians, which I avoid particularly noticing, for fear of drawing this report to too great a length.

2. The Tschuktschi. The people who bear this name are in fact two separate and distinct nations or tribes, one of which is called the Settled or Se-

* Mithridates, Vol. IV. p. 323.

dentary, and the other the Wandering or Rein-deer Tschuktschi. The former reside in the north easternmost peninsula of Asia, divided by a narrow strait from the American continent ; the others inhabit the country to the south of them and north of the river Anadir. The sedentary Tschuktschi speak a dialect of the Karalit or Eskimaux, and from this circumstance as well as from their manners and habits, there is reason to suppose that they are an American colony*. Their nomadic neighbours, on the contrary, the Rein-deer Tschuktschi, appear to be a branch of the Koriak Tartars, who live on the south side of the Anadir, and speak a dialect of their idiom. As far as we are acquainted with the languages of the Siberian Tartars, and of the Samoyedes, who inhabit the northern parts of Asiatic Russia, we do not find that there is any connexion either in etymology or grammatical forms between them and those of the American Indians. The idioms of the north western parts of Europe appear to differ still more widely from them, being of the class which I have called analytic†.

While I am on the subject of Asia, it may not be improper to observe that there is a tribe or people in that country called the *Grusinians*, of whose language we know very little, but as far as it is described to us by Mr. Fred. Adelung, in his additions to the *Mithridates*, it appears to bear a striking resemblance in some of the forms of its verbs to those of the

* *Mithridates*, Vol. III. part iii. p. 462.

† See Correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder, p. 400.

American Indians*. This is the more remarkable, as that part of Asia is considered as having been the cradle of the human race.

It is to be hoped that this language will be further investigated, and also that some learned Orientalist will institute a fair and detailed comparison between the forms of the idioms of the American Indians and those of the Hebrew and other languages of the East. This task is not unworthy of the talents of Dr. Mason of New York, or of Mr. Banks, of the university of Pennsylvania. I am not without hopes that the latter will conquer his modest scruples, and render this service to the learned world. As there are many who consider the Hebrew to be the root or fountain of all existing languages, it is highly important that this question should be fully considered, and, if possible, set at rest.

3. The CONGO. Here we find ourselves in the midst of an unexplored field, so little being yet known of the languages of the black population of Africa. It would be a strange and curious fact, if the idioms of the black and red races of mankind should be constructed on a similar plan of grammatical forms; but we must not suffer ourselves to be led away so soon by untried theories.

Of all the languages spoken by the blacks who inhabit the western coast of Africa, that of the people of Congo is the best known from the works of

* Mithridates, Vol. IV. p. 130.

Astley, Dapper, Grandpré, Baudry Desloziers and others who have written upon it. So early as the year 1659, a grammar of this language by *Giacinto Brusciotto di Vetralla*, was published at Rome at the expense of the congregation *de Propagandâ Fide*, a copy of which I hope to be able to procure for our Society's library. Professor Vater in the first part of the third volume of the *Mithridates* has described from these and other sources which he had at hand, the principal features of its grammatical character, from whence we are able to form a pretty correct idea of it.

That this language is synthetic in a very high degree, and that in some respects its forms resemble those of the American idioms, cannot be denied; but it is true likewise that there are many essential differences between them. For instance, the cases of substantives are expressed in the Congo, by inflections of the article, whereas the Indian languages have no articles at all; instead of adjectives, the Congo make use of the genitive case of substantives, as *water of fire* for *hot water*; they place the possessive pronoun after the substantive, with an article between, as it were, *father the mine*, for *my father* *. These, and other forms which I need not enumerate, are not to be found in any of the languages of our Indians.

I must acknowledge, however, that in the forms of the verbs the resemblance is considerable. Like

* *Mithridates*, Vol. III. part i. p. 212.

the Americans, these people can, by means of this part of speech, express many of the relations connected with the principal action; whether they can do it to the same extent, I have not the means of ascertaining.

That the information given by Professor Vater on the subject of this language, and derived by him from the original sources, is correct, is a fact which does not admit even the possibility of a doubt. I have been, therefore, not a little astonished in finding it positively contradicted in a late account of Capt. Tuckey's Expedition to the River Zaire*, in which I find this remarkable assertion: "There does not seem to be the *least truth* in the complicated mechanism of the *Congo* language, which some *fanciful author* thought he had discovered, and which has been repeated by succeeding writers; none of those idioms of which the syntax and grammatical forms, ingeniously combined with art, indicate, in the opinion of *Malte Brun*, a meditative genius, foreign to the habitual condition of these people." This is not, however, asserted by Captain Tuckey himself, nor by Professor Smith, who accompanied him in his expedition, but by the unknown editor of the book, whose observations form a separate chapter at the end of it.

* Narrative of an Expedition to the River Zaire, usually called the Congo in South Africa, in 1816, under the direction of Captain I. K. Tuckey, to which is added the Journal of Professor Smith, &c. published by permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. New York (reprinted) 1818, p. 394.

As this strange assertion immediately follows the observations of the learned Marsden on the vocabularies furnished by Captain Tuckey, I was for a moment inclined to believe that it was the expression of his own opinion. But I was soon undeceived when I observed that this eminent philologist is so well acquainted with the works of Brusciotto, Oldendorp, and Hervas, that it is impossible to suppose that he could have fallen into such a mistake, which is solely to be ascribed to the book-maker, whoever he is, who edited the work, and who has imposed upon the public his own crude opinions, by the side of the facts of Captain Tuckey and Professor Phillips, and of the sensible observations of a Marsden. It is impossible to guard too strongly against similar impositions, as they cannot but operate greatly to the detriment of science.

The French geographer, Malte-Brun, who asserts that the language of Congo is complicated in its forms, undoubtedly drew his information from the best sources, with which his assertion perfectly agrees. The anonymous writer, who assumes that he had borrowed it from some *fanciful author*, shews that he himself knew nothing of the subject, and was not competent to write upon it.

There is great reason to believe that among the idioms of Africa, the Congo is not the only one that has complicated forms, and that the same grammatical construction extends to all those of the black nations who inhabit that coast. Oldendorp, in his History of the Missions, has given us a sentence in

not less than eighteen of those languages, which appears to have escaped the observation of Professor Vater, and clearly evinces that in their verbs, at least, they have the transitive forms of the Indians. The phrase is: "God has loved me, and has washed away my sins with his blood." In the Congo dialect this phrase is expressed by, *Christus ensolani sukkula nituam winu mengaman*. The word *ensolani*, by an evident *transition*, expresses the compound idea, "has loved me," and the last word *mengaman*, from *menga*, "blood," conveys the meaning of that substantive, coupled with the preposition "*with*." The three other words *sukkula nituam winu*, the author translates by "has my body washed from uncleanness *."

I shall not trouble the committee with the translation of the same or similar sentences in other African languages, the forms of which the author thus exemplifies, of which six are mother tongues †, and the others derivative dialects. I shall content myself with referring to the original work, by which my assertions may be contradicted or confirmed. In my opinion those languages appear all formed nearly on the same model.

From the above facts and observations it would seem to result, that the languages of the Negroes of

* C. G. A. Oldendorps *Geschichte der Mission*, &c. C. G. A. Oldendorp's History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren in the Caribbee Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, edited by J. J. Bossart. Barby, 1777, octavo, p. 344.

† 1. The Congo. 2. The Amingo. 3. The Mandingo. 4. The Yalef. 5. The Serere. 6. The Serawalli.

the western coast of Africa, are in a degree complex and synthetic in their forms; to what extent does not sufficiently appear; but enough is shewn to warrant the inference that they differ in several material points from those of the languages of the American Indians. Their greatest resemblance appears to be in the combinations of the verb with other parts of speech.

Perhaps, therefore, it may not be an improbable supposition that the great characteristics which so generally distinguish the idioms of the aborigines of this continent, are not to be found to the same extent in any other language upon earth. Considerable labour, however, will be required before this question can be fully solved, and the fact completely ascertained. The study of the languages of the different races of men, considered in relation to their internal structure and grammatical forms, has but lately begun to be attended to, and may still be considered as being in its infancy; the difficulties which attend the pursuit of this interesting branch of science ought not to deter us from still pursuing it, in hopes of discovering some path that may lead to a better knowledge than we yet possess of the origin, history, connexions, and relations, of the various families of human beings by whom this globe now is and formerly was inhabited.

CATALOGUE

Of Manuscript Works, on the Indians and their Languages, presented to the American Philosophical Society, or deposited in their Library.

DICTIONARIES.

1. *Deutsch und Onondagoisches Wærter buch, von David Zeisberger.* A Dictionary of the German and Onondago languages, by David Zeisberger. 7 vols. 4to. *Deposited by the Society of the United Brethren of Bethlehem.*

2. *Aruvakkisch Deutsches Wærter Buch vermehrt, 1803, durch Theodor Schultze.* A Dictionary Aruwack and German, augmented in 1803, by Theodore Schultze. 1 vol. 4to. 622 pp. *Deposited by the Author.*

3. *Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne, par Samuel Sagard.* MS. copy of the original work, printed at Paris in 1632. *Presented by P. S. Duponceau.*

GRAMMARS AND GRAMMATICAL WORKS.

1. A Grammar of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Language; by the late Rev. David Zeisberger. Translated from the German MS. of the Author, by P. S. Duponceau; fol. 140 pp. *Presented by the Translator.*

2. *Grammaticalische Sætze von der Aruvakkische sprache.* A Grammar of the Aruwack language, by Theodore Schultze, 12mo. 173 pp. *Deposited by the Author.*

3. Essay of an Onondago Grammar, or a short introduction to learn the Onondago, alias Maqua Tongue; by David Zeisberger, 4to. 67. pp.

4. *Onondagoische Grammatica* ; by the same, 4to, 87 pp.

5. Another Onondago Grammar in the German Language, by the same, 4to. 176 pp.

6. *Affixa Nominum et Verborum Linguae Macquaicæ*. Auctore Chr. Pyrlæo, 4to. 25 pp.

[With this work are bound several Iroquois Vocabularies and Collections of Phrases, the whole together making 178 pp. 4to.]

7. *Adjectiva, Nomina et Pronomina Linguae Macquaicæ, cum nonnullis de Verbis Adverbüs ac Præpositionibus ejusdem Linguae*. By the same, 4to. 86 pp.

[The five last above mentioned works have been deposited by the Society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem.]

VOCABULARIES AND COLLECTIONS OF WORDS AND PHRASES.

I.

A Collection of Words and Phrases in the Iroquois or Onondago Language, explained into German. By the Rev. Chr. Pyrlæus, 4to. 140 pp. Deposited by the Society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem.

The following are all donations made to the Philosophical Society.

II.

Presented by Mr. Jefferson.

1. A Vocabulary of the Language of the Unquachog Indians, by the donor.

2. Of the Nanticoke, by — .

4. Of the Miami, by M. Volney.

5. Of the same, from the mouth of the Little Turtle and of the Interpreter William Wells, by W. Thornton.

6. Of the Cherokee, by Judge Campbell.

7. Of the Cherokee (over hill,) and Choctaw, *by Benjamin Hawkins.*

8. Of the Creek, Chickasaw, Cherokee and Chocktaw, *by the same.*

9. Of the Atacapas, *by Martin Duralde.*

10. Of the Chetimachas, *by the same.*

11. Fragments of a Comparative Vocabulary of several Indian Languages, (partly destroyed by accident,) *by the donor.*

III.

Presented by the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder.

1. A Vocabulary of the Mahicanni, taken down from the mouth of one of that nation, born in Connecticut; *by the donor.*

2. A Vocabulary of the Shawano; taken down from the mouth of a white woman, who had been twenty years a prisoner with that nation; *by the donor.*

3. A Vocabulary of the Nanticoke, taken from the mouth of a Nanticoke Chief, in 1785; *by the donor.*

4. A comparative Vocabulary of the Lenni Lenape and Algonquin; *by the donor.*

5. Same of the Lenni Lenape proper, the Minsi dialect, the Mahicanni, Natik or Nadik, Chippeway, Shawano, and Nanticoke; *by the donor.*

6. Same of the Lenni Lenape and Miami or Twightwee; *by the donor.*

7. Names of various trees, shrubs and plants in the Language of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware, distinguishing the dialects of the Unamis and Minsi; *by the donor.*

IV.

A Vocabulary of the Language of the Osage Indians, *by Dr. Murray, of Louisville, Kentucky.*

Other MS. Works concerning the Indians.

1. A Sketch of the Creek Country in the years 1798, and 1799.

By Col. Benj. Hawkins, late Agent of the United States to the Creek Nation, 4to. 168 pp. *Presented by Mr. Jefferson.*

2. A Short Account of the Mengwe, Maqua, or Mingoes, (as they are called by the white people,) according to the sayings and reports of the Lenni Lenape, Mahicanni, and other tribes connected with these. By Mr. Heckewelder, 4to. 25 pp. *Presented by the author.*

3. A Short Account of the Emigration of the Nation of Indians, calling themselves Lenni Lenape, and improperly called, by the whites, Delawares, as related by themselves. By the same, 4to. 28 pp. *Presented by the author.*

4. *The Horsfield Papers.* A large collection of original documents and letters from the principal characters in Pennsylvania, relating to Indian business, at and about the period of the war of 1756. *Deposited by Joseph Horsfield, Esq. of Bethlehem.*

5. A Collection of Indian Treaties from the year 1755, to 1758, both inclusive. fol. 250 pp. *Deposited by Joseph Parker Norris, Esq.*

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE following quotation from Governor Clinton's discourse, contains the sublime theory I alluded to in the first chapter of the foregoing work. It is so eloquent in style, and ingenious in speculation, that I feel assured the reader will be much gratified by having it placed before him:

“ It would be an unpardonable omission, not to mention, while treating on this subject, that there is every reason to believe, that previous to the occupancy of this country by the progenitors of the present nations of Indians, it was inhabited by a race of men much more populous, and much further advanced in civilization. The numerous remains of ancient fortifications, which are found in this country, commencing principally near the Onondaga River, and from thence spreading over the Military Tract, the Genessee country, and the lands of the Holland Land Company, over the territory adjoining the Ohio and its tributary streams, the country on Lake Erie, and extending even west of the Mississippi, demonstrate a population far exceeding that of the Indians when this country was first settled.

“ I have seen several of these works in the western parts of this state. There is a large one in the town of Onondaga; one in Pompey, and another in Manlius; one in Camillus, eight miles from Auburn; one in Scipio, six miles; another one mile; and one, half a mile from that village. Between the Seneca and Cayuga Lakes there are several; three within a few miles of each other. Near the village of Canadaigua

there are three. In a word, they are scattered all over that country*.

“ These forts were, generally speaking, erected on the most commanding ground. The walls or breastworks were earthen. The ditches were on the exterior of the works. On some of the parapets, oak trees were to be seen, which, from the number of the concentric circles, must have been standing one hundred and fifty, two hundred and sixty, and three hundred years; and there were evident indications, not only that they had sprung up since the erection of those works, but that they were at least a second growth. The trenches were in some cases deep and wide, and in others shallow and narrow; and the breast works varied in altitude from three to eight feet. They sometimes had one, and sometimes two entrances, as was to be inferred from there being no ditch at those places. When the works were protected by a deep ravine, or a large stream of water, no ditch was to be seen. The areas of these forts varied from two to six acres; and the form was generally an irregular ellipsis; and in some of them fragments of earthenware and pulverized substances, supposed to have been originally human bones, were to be found.

* On the subject of these ancient fortifications, see Charlevoix, vol. 1. b. 11. p. 533. Charlevoix, letter 23, vol. 3. p. 333. American Museum, vol. 6. p. 29. 233. Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 3. p. 23; Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. 4. p. 101. 107. Imlay's Kentucky, p. 379. Herriot's Canada, p. 14 to 26. Belknap's American Biography, vol. 1. p. 194—196. History of Virginia, anonymous, published in London, 1722, p. 149. Carver's Travels, p. 37. Volney's United States, p. 486. Barton's Medical and Physical Journal, vol. 1. part 1. p. 97. Ibid, part 2. p. 80. Ibid. vol. 2. part 1. p. 187. Adair's Indians, p. 377. New York Magazine, January, 1793, p. 23. Michaux's Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany Mountains in 1802, vol. 1. Columbian Magazine for 1787, vol. 1. No. 9. Shultz's Inland Voyage, vol. 1. p. 146. American Philosophical Transactions, vol. 6. p. 132. Medical Repository, 3d Hexade, vol. 2. No. 2. p. 146. Rogers' Concise Account of North America, p. 217. Harris's Tour in 1803 into the State of Ohio, p. 149, &c. Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England, p. 32. 106. Williamson on the Climate, &c. of America, p. 159.

“ These fortifications, thus diffused over the interior of our country, have been generally considered as surpassing the skill, patience and industry of the Indian race; and various hypotheses have been advanced to prove them of European origin.

“ An American writer of no inconsiderable repute pronounced some years ago, that the two forts at the confluence of the Muskingum and Ohio rivers, one covering forty and the other twenty acres, were erected by Ferdinand de Soto, who landed with one thousand men in Florida in 1539, and penetrated a considerable distance into the interior of the country. He allotted the large fort for the use of the Spanish army; and after being extremely puzzled how to dispose of the small one in its vicinity, he at last assigned it to the swine, that generally, as he says, attended the Spaniards in those days; being in his opinion very necessary, in order to prevent them from becoming estrays, and to protect them from the depredations of the Indians.

“ When two ancient forts, one containing six and the other three acres, were found near Lexington in Kentucky, another theory was propounded, and it was supposed that they were erected by the descendants of the Welch colony, who are said to have migrated under the auspices of Madoc to this country, in the twelfth century; that they formerly inhabited Kentucky; but being attacked by the Indians, were forced to take refuge near the sources of the Missouri.

“ Another suggestion has been made, that the French, in their expeditions from Canada to the Mississippi, were the authors of these works; but the most numerous are to be found in the territory of the Senecas, whose hostility to the French was such, that they were not allowed for a long time to have any footing among them*. The fort at Niagara was obtained from them, by the intrigues and eloquence of Joncaire, an adopted child of the nation†.

* Colden, vol. 1. p. 61.

† Charlevoix, vol. 3, letter 15. p. 227.

“ Louis Denuie, a Frenchman, aged upward of seventy, and who has been settled and married among the confederates for more than half a century, told me that according to the traditions of the ancient Indians, these forts were erected by an army of Spaniards, who were the first Europeans ever seen by them; the French the next; then the Dutch; and finally the English: that this army first appeared at Oswego in great force, and penetrated through the interior of the country, searching for the precious metals; that they continued there two years, and went down the Ohio.

“ Some of the Senecas told Mr. Kirkland the missionary, that those in their territory were raised by their ancestors in their wars with the western Indians, three, four or five hundred years ago. All the cantons have traditions, that their ancestors came originally from the west; and the Senecas say that theirs first settled in the country of the Creeks. The early histories mention, that the Iroquois first inhabited on the north side of the great lakes; that they were driven to their present territory in a war with the Algonkins or Adirondacks, from whence they expelled the Satanas. If these accounts are correct, the ancestors of the Senecas did not, in all probability, occupy their present territory, at the time they allege.

“ I believe we may confidently pronounce, that all the hypotheses which attribute those works to Europeans, are incorrect and fanciful: 1st. On account of the present number of the works. 2d. On account of their antiquity; having, from every appearance, been erected a long time before the discovery of America: and finally, their form and manner are totally variant from European fortifications, either in ancient or modern times.

“ It is equally clear that they were not the work of the Indians. Until the Senecas, who are renowned for their national vanity, had seen the attention of the Americans attracted to these erections, and had invented the fabulous account of which I have spoken, the Indians of the present day did not

pretend to know any thing about their origin. They were beyond the reach of all their traditions, and were lost in the abyss of unexplored antiquity.

“The erection of such prodigious works must have been the result of labour, far beyond the patience and perseverance of our Indians; and the form and materials are entirely different from those which they are known to make. These earthen walls, it is supposed, will retain their original form much longer than those constructed with brick and stone. They have, undoubtedly, been greatly diminished by the washing away of the earth, the filling up of the interior, and the accumulation of fresh soil; yet their firmness and solidity indicate them to be the work of some remote age. Add to this, that the Indians have never practised the mode of fortifying by entrenchments. Their villages or castles were protected by palisades; which afforded a sufficient defence against Indian weapons. When Cartier went to Hochelaga, now Montreal, in 1535, he discovered a town of the Iroquois, or Hurons, containing about fifty huts. It was encompassed with three lines of palisadoes, through which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders; and heaps of stones were laid in proper places to cast at an enemy. Charlevoix and other writers agree, in representing the Indian fortresses as fabricated with wood. Such also were the forts of Sasacus, the great chief of the Pequots; and the principal fortress of the Narragansets was on an island in a swamp, of five or six acres of rising land: the sides were made with palisades set upright, encompassed with a hedge, of a rod in thickness*.

“I have already alluded to the argument for the great antiquity of those ancient forts, to be derived from the number of concentric circles. On the ramparts of one of the Muskingum forts, four hundred and sixty-three were ascertained on a tree,

* Mather's *Magnalia*, p. 693.

decayed at the centre; and there are likewise the strongest marks of a former growth of a similar size. This would make those works near a thousand years old.

“But there is another consideration which has never before been urged, and which appears to me to be not unworthy of attention. It is certainly novel, and I believe it to be founded on a basis, which cannot easily be subverted.

“From near the Genessee river to Lewiston, on the Niagara river, there is a remarkable ridge or elevation of land, running almost the whole distance, which is seventy-eight miles, and in a direction from east to west. Its general altitude above the neighbouring land is thirty feet, and its width varies considerably: in some places it is not more than forty yards. Its elevation above the level of lake Ontario is perhaps one hundred and sixty feet, to which it descends by a gradual slope; and its distance from that water is between six and ten miles. This remarkable strip of land, would appear as if intended by nature for the purpose of an easy communication. It is, in fact, a stupendous natural turnpike, descending gently on each side, and covered with gravel; and but little labour is requisite to make it the best road in the United States. When the forests between it and the lake are cleared, the prospects and scenery which will be afforded from a tour on this route to the cataract of Niagara, will surpass all competition for sublimity and beauty, variety and number.

“There is every reason to believe, that this remarkable ridge was the ancient boundary of this great lake. The gravel with which it is covered was deposited there by the waters; and the stones every where indicate by their shape, the abrasion and agitation produced by that element. All along the borders of the western rivers and lakes, there are small mounds or heaps of gravel, of a conical form, erected by the fish for the protection of their spawn; these fish banks are found in a state that cannot be mistaken, at the foot of the ridge, on the side toward the lake; on the opposite side none have been dis-

covered. All rivers and streams which enter the lake from the south, have their mouths affected with sand in a peculiar way, from the prevalence and power of the north-westerly winds. The points of the creeks which pass through this ridge, correspond exactly in appearance with the entrance of the streams into the lakes. These facts evince, beyond doubt, that Lake Ontario has, perhaps one or two thousand years ago, receded from this elevated ground. And the cause of this retreat must be ascribed to its having enlarged its former outlet, or to its imprisoned waters (aided, probably, by an earthquake) forcing a passage down the present bed of the St. Lawrence; as the Hudson did at the Highlands, and the Mohawk at the Little Falls. On the south side of this great ridge, in its vicinity, and in all directions through this country, the remains of numerous forts are to be seen: but on the north side; that is, on the side toward the lake, not a single one has been discovered, although the whole ground has been carefully explored. Considering the distance to be, say, seventy miles in length, and eight in breadth, and that the border of the lake is the very place that would be selected for habitation, and consequently for works of defence, on account of the facilities it would afford for subsistence, for safety, for all domestic accommodations and military purposes; and that on the south shores of Lake Erie, these ancient fortresses exist in great number, there can be no doubt but that these works were erected, when this ridge was the southern boundary of Lake Ontario, and, consequently, that their origin must be sought in a very remote age.

“A great part of North America as then inhabited by populous nations, who had made considerable advances in civilization. These numerous works could never have been supplied with provisions without the aid of agriculture. Nor could they have been constructed without the use of iron or copper; and without a perseverance, labour, and design, which demonstrate considerable progress in the arts of civilized life. A

learned writer has said, ‘ I perceive no reason why the Asiatic North might not be an *officina virorum*, as well as the European. The over-teeming country to the east of the Riphæan mountains, must find it necessary to discharge its inhabitants. The first great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more tumid and more powerful than itself : successive and new impulses continually arriving, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern tract; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions. At length, reaching the farthest limits of the old world, it found a new one, with ample space to occupy, unmolested for ages *.’ After the north of Asia had thus exhausted its exuberant population by such a great migration, it would require a very long period of time to produce a co-operation of causes, sufficient to effect another. The first mighty stream of people that flowed into America, must have remained free from external pressure for ages. Availing themselves of this period of tranquillity, they would devote themselves to the arts of peace, make rapid progress in civilization, and acquire an immense population. In course of time, discord and war would rage among them, and compel the establishment of places of security. At last, they became alarmed by the irruption of a horde of barbarians, who rushed like an overwhelming flood from the North of Asia.

A multitude, like which the populous North
 Poured from her frozen loins, to pass
 Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
 Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
 Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands†.

“ The great law of self-preservation compelled them to stand on their defence, to resist these ruthless invaders, and to construct numerous and extensive works for protection. And for a long series of time the scale of victory was suspended in doubt, and they firmly withstood the torrent: but like the

* Pennant's *Arctic Zoology*, vol. 1. p. 260.

† Milton's *Paradise Lost*, book 1. p. 62.

Romans in the decline of their empire, they were finally worn down and destroyed, by successive inroads, and renewed attacks. And the fortifications of which we have treated, are the only remaining monuments of these ancient and exterminated nations. This is, perhaps, the airy nothing of imagination, and may be reckoned the extravagant dream of a visionary mind: but may we not, considering the wonderful events of the past and present times, and the inscrutable dispensations of an over-ruling Providence, may we not look forward into futurity, and without departing from the rigid laws of probability, predict the occurrence of similar scenes, at some remote period of time. And, perhaps, in the decrepitude of our empire, some transcendent genius, whose powers of mind shall only be bounded by that impenetrable circle which prescribes the limits of human nature*, may rally the barbarous nations of Asia, under the standard of a mighty empire. Following the tract of the Russian colonies and commerce toward the north-west coast, and availing himself of the navigation, arms, and military skill of civilized nations, he may, after subverting the neighbouring despotisms of the old world, bend his course toward European America. The destinies of our country may then be decided on the waters of the Missouri, or on the banks of Lake Superior. And if Asia shall then revenge upon our posterity, the injuries we have inflicted on her sons, a new, a long, and a gloomy night of Gothic darkness will set in upon mankind. And when, after the efflux of ages, the returning effulgence of intellectual light shall again gladden the nations, then the wide-spread ruins of our cloud-capp'd towers, of our solemn temples, and of our magnificent cities, will, like the works of which we have treated, become the subject of curious research and elaborate investigation.

* Roscoe's Lorenzo De Medicis, p. 241.

EXTRACT

FROM

BLOME'S STATE OF HIS MAJESTY'S ISLES AND
TERRITORIES IN AMERICA.[*London, Printed 1687.*]

NATIVES OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin; of complexion black, but by design, as the gipsies in England; they grease themselves with bear's fat clarified, and using no defence against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy; their eye is little and black not unlike a straight-looking Jew; the thick lip and flat nose, so frequent to the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both sexes, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white, and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

Their language is lofty, yet narrow, but like the Hebrew in signification, full like short-hand in writing; one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections. I have made it my business to understand it that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion, and I must say

I know not a language spoken in Europe that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis than theirs.

Of their customs and manners there is much to be said. I will begin with children: so soon as they are born, they wash them in water, and while very young and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers, to harden and embolden them; having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board, to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads, and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly; they wear only a small clout round their waist till they are big; if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; then they hunt, and having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife.

The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old, for the wives are the true servants of their husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen, if men, seventeen and eighteen, they are rarely older: their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle duffies they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them. Their diet is maize or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes, some-

tunes beaten and boiled with water, which they call *Homine*, they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat; they have likewise several sorts of beans and pease, that are good nourishment, and the woods and rivers are their larder.

If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *It hah!* which is as much as to say, good be to you, and sit them down which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; may be they speak not a word more, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it I believe by the revenge that hath been practised among them; in either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country; a king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, pluckt a root out of the ground, and eat it, upon which she immediately died, and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred, for atonement, liberty, and marriage, as two others did to the kindred of their wives that died a natural death; for till widowers have done so they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage for a portion; but when married, chaste: when with child, they know their husbands no more, till delivered; and during their month, they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them till that time be expired.

But in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friends; give them a fine gun, coat, or other things, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent; the most merry creatures that live, feast

and dance perpetually ; they never have much, nor want much ; wealth circulateth like the blood, all parts partake ; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.

Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land ; the pay or presents I made them, *were* not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighbouring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom they should give them ; to every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a present sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity, that it is admirable ; then that king subdivideth it in like manner among the dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects : and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last ; they care for little, and the reason is, a little contents them : in this they are sufficiently revenged on us ; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains.

They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits and exchequer reckonings ; we sweat and toil to live, their pleasure feeds them, I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere ; they eat twice a day, morning and evening ; their seats and tables are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially, and for it they exchange the richest of their skins and furs : if they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep ; and this is their cry, *Some more, and I will go to sleep* ; but when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

In sickness, impatient to be cured ; for it, give any thing, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural ; they drink at those times a *yeran*, or decoction of some roots, in spring water ; and if they eat any flesh, it must be

of the female of any creature; if they die they bury them with their apparel, be they men or women, and the nearest of kin flings in something precious with them, as a token of their love; their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year: they are choice of the graves of their dead; for, least they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, or rather to the tradition of it; yet, they believe a God and immortality without the helps of *Metaphysics*; for they say there is a great king that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them, and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico: Their sacrifice is their first fruits, the first and fattest bullock they kill, goes to the fire, where he is all burnt with a mournful ditty of him that performs the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam; the other part of their cantico, is performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus; their postures in the dance are very antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy.

In the fall, when the corn comes in, they begin to feast one another; there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fell to dance; but they that go, must carry a small present of their money, it may be sixpence, which is made in the bone of a

fish; the black is with them as gold, the white silver; they call it all *wampum*.

Their government is by kings which they call sachema, and those by succession, but always by the mother's side; for instance, the children of him that is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign; for no woman inherits: the reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious. Every king hath his counsel, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, traffic, without advising with them; and which is more, with the young men too.

It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and how they move by the breath of the people.

I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties of land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus; the king sits in the middle of a half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand; behind them or at a little distance sit the younger fry in the same figure; having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me, and he in the name of his king saluted me; then took me by the hand, and told me, that he was ordered by his king to speak to me; and now it was not he, but the king that spoke, because what he should say, was the king's mind.

He first prayed me to excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time, he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council before they resolve; and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.

Having thus introduced this matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; the land

now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old grave, the young reverent in their deportment. They do speak little, but fervently and with elegance; I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand.

When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light; which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the *sachamakers* or kings, first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love christians; and particularly to live in peace with me, and the people under my government. That many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such a one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which, they shouted, and said amen, in their way.

The justice they have is pecuniary; in case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their *wampum*, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence, or person injured, or the sex they are of. For in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render, is, that she breedeth children, which men cannot do. It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk they forgive it, saying, it was the drink, and not the man that abused them.

We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Don't abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, they are the worse for the christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as they are at, and as in glorious as their

condition looks, the christians have not outlived their sight, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation.

What good, then, might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean of the stock of the ten tribes; and that for the following reasons: First, they were to go to a land not planted or known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe, and he that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia to the wester most parts of America. In the next place I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's-place or Bury-street in London, when he seeth them. But this not all; they agree in rites, they reckon by moons, they offer their first fruits, they have a kind of feast of tabernacles, they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones, their mourning a year, customs of women, with many things that do not now occur.

About this time (1607) James'-town was built. In the discovery of Chickahamine river, one George Casson was surprised, and one Smith, with two others, beset with two hundred savages, his men slain, and himself taken prisoner; but in about a month's time he procured not only his liberty, but was in great favour among them, so that he had a most noble entertainment from *Powhatam*, one of their emperors, who sate in state upon his bed of mats, pillow of leather, embroidered with pearl and white beads, attired with robes of skins, as large

as an Irish mantle ; at his head sat a handsome young woman, and another at his feet, and on each side the room twenty others, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a chain of beads about their necks and a robe of skins ; before them sat his chiefest men, in their orders. This emperor had about thirty kings under him, his treasure consisting of skins, copper, pearls, beads, and the like ; his house being fifty or sixty yards long, frequented only by priests ; at the four corners stood four images, as sentinels, one of a bear, one of a dragon, another a leopard, and the fourth a giant : he hath as many women as he pleases, whom, after he has grown weary of, he bestows upon his favourites. His will, with the custom of the country, are his laws.

The Virginians are not born so swarthy as they appear ; their hair is generally black and flaggy which they wear long ; few men have beards, because they pluck out the hairs that would grow ; their ointments and smoky houses do in a great measure cause their blackness, whereby they look like bacon ; they are of a ready wit, very subtle and treacherous, not much addicted to labour and much given to hunting. They have one wife, and many concubines. The ancient women are used for cooks, barbers and other services, the younger for dalliance, they are modest in their carriage and seldom quarrel ; in entertaining a stranger, they spread a mat for him to sit down, and then dance before him ; they wear their nails long to flea their deer, and put bows and arrows into the hands of their children at six years old.

The queen of Apometica was attired with a cornet beset with many white bones, with copper in her ears, and a chain of the same six times encompassing her neck. They have several ridiculous conceits concerning their original ; as that a hare came into their country, and made the first man ; and two other hares came thither, the first killed a deer for their entertainment which was then the only deer in the world, and strewing the hairs of that deer, every hair became a deer.

The natives think it a disgrace to fear death, and therefore when they must die, they do it resolutely; as it happened to one that robbed an Englishman, and was by Pawhatan (upon complaint made against him) fetched sixty miles from where he was concealed, and executed in the presence of the English; his brains being knocked out without the least show of fear or terror.

NATIVES OF NEW YORK.

Their principal recreations are foot-ball, and cards, at which they will play away all they have. They are lovers of strong drink; without they have enough to be drunk, they care not to drink at all; they observe several ceremonies in their Religious Rites, and are said to worship the devil; they are usually performed on such occasions as the making of war; when their corn is ripe, or the like.

They are much addicted to go to war against one another, but they fight no pitched battles, but upon their enemy's approach armed with guns and hatchets, they way-lay him, and it is counted a great fight when seven or eight are slain; they seldom give quarter to any but the women and children, whom they reserve and make use of for the increasing their strength.

When an Indian dies they bury him upright sitting upon a seat with his gun, money, and goods, to furnish him in the other world, which they believe to be westward, where they shall have a great store of game for hunting, and live at ease. At his funeral his relations paint their faces black, making sad lamentations; near his grave they do not suffer any grass to grow, but cover it with mats as a shelter from the rain. Notwithstanding this, when an Indian is dead his name dies with him, none daring after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their law, but an affront to his friends and relations, as if done on purpose to renew their grief; and persons bearing the same name, change it for another, which every one invents

for himself. Their weddings are without ceremony, the match being made by money, which being agreed on, makes a consummation of the marriage; upon the least dislike he turns her away and takes another. It is no offence for their married women to lie with another man, provided she acquaint her husband or some near relation therewith, but if not, it is sometimes punishable with death.

They are extremely charitable one to another, they share one with another, commonly leaving the least parts to themselves.

THE NEW ENGLANDERS.

Before they make war they first consult with their priests and conjurors, no people being so barbarous almost but they have their gods, priests and religion; they adore such things as they think may unavoidably hurt them, as fire, water, lightning, thunder, our great guns, muskets and horses; the chief god they worship is the devil, which they call Okee. They paint themselves and their children, and he is most gallant who is most deformed. They are exact archers, and with their arrows will kill birds flying; their bows are of tough hazel; their strings of leather; their arrows of cane or hazel, headed with stones or horn, and feathered. They soon grow heartless, if they find their arrows do no execution.

THE FIVE NATIONS.

“The Five Nations* are a poor and generally called barbarous people, bred under the darkest ignorance; and yet a bright and noble genius shines through these black clouds. None of the greatest Roman heroes have discovered a greater love of country or contempt of death, than these people called barbarians have done, when liberty came in competition. Indeed I think our Indians have out-done the Romans in this particular. Some of the greatest of those Roman Heroes have murdered themselves to avoid shame or torments; but our Indians have refused to die meanly or with but little pain when they thought their country's honour would be at stake by it; but have given their bodies willingly to the most cruel torments of their enemies, to shew, as they said, that the five nations consisted of men whose courage and resolution could not be shaken. But what, alas! have we christians done to make them better? We have indeed reason to be ashamed that these Infidels, by our conversation and neighbourhood, are become worse than they were before they knew us. Instead of virtue we have only taught them vice, that they were entirely free from before that time. The narrow vices of private interest, have occasioned this and will occasion greater, even public mischief, if the governors of the people do not put a stop to

* The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, which are dependant on the Province of New York, and are the barrier between the English and French. By the Hon. Lord Cadwallader Colden, one of His Majesty's Consuls, and Surveyor-General of New York. 3d. Ed. printed in London by Lockyer Davis, 1755.

these growing evils. If these practices be winked at, instead of faithful friends that have manfully fought our battles for us, the five nations will become faithless thieves and robbers, and join with every enemy that can give hope of plunder.

“If care were taken to plant and cultivate in them that general benevolence to mankind, which is the true first principle of virtue, it would effectually eradicate those horrid vices occasioned by their unbounded revenge; and then they no longer would deserve the name of barbarians, but would become a people whose friendship might add honour to the British nation.

“The Greeks and Romans were once as much barbarians as our Indians now are; deified the heroes that first taught them those virtues, from whence the grandeur of those renowned nations wholly proceeded. A good man, however, will feel more real satisfaction and pleasure from the sense of having in any way forwarded the civilizing of a barbarous nation, or of having multiplied the number of good men, than from the fondest hopes of such extravagant honours.”

In his preface (p. 10.) Mr. Colden observes, very justly, that two things in his performance would be found fault with, namely, filling up a great part of the work with the adventures of small parties, (of Indians) and sometimes of those of a single man; and inserting speeches at full length. As to the first, he observes, that the history of the Indians would be very lame without an account of their private adventures; for their warlike expeditions are almost always carried on by surprising each other; the whole art of war consisting in managing small parties; and with regard to their speeches, he thinks it highly interesting, to know the manners and customs of the Indians, in their public treaties especially. We are fond of searching into remote antiquity to know the manners of our earliest progenitors, of whom it may be safely averred, the Indians are living images.

“The Five Nations consist of so many tribes or nations joined together, without any superiority of the one over the other. The union has continued so long, that nothing is known by the Europeans of the origin of it. They are known by the names of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, Cayugas and Sennekas. Each of these nations is again divided into three tribes or families, who distinguish themselves by three different arms or ensigns; the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf; and the Sachems, or old men of these families put their ensign or marks of their family to every public paper, when they sign it.

“Each of these nations is an absolute Republic by itself, and is governed in all public affairs by its own Sachems. The authority of these rulers is gained by and consists wholly in the opinion the rest of the nation have of their wisdom and integrity. They never execute their resolutions by force upon any of their people. Honour and esteem are their principal rewards; as shame and being despised their punishment:—These leaders and captains in like manner obtain their authority by the general opinion of their courage and conduct; and lose it by a failure in those virtues. These great men, both sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people for they uniformly give away and distribute all the presents or plunder they get in their treaties or in war, so as to leave nothing to themselves.

“There is not a man in the ministry of the Five Nations, who has gained his office otherwise than by merit; there is not the least salary or any sort of profit annexed to any office to tempt the covetous or sordid; but on the contrary, every unworthy action is unavoidably attended with the forfeiture of their commission, for the authority is only the esteem of the people, and ceases the moment that esteem is lost.

“The Five Nations think themselves superior to the rest of mankind, and call themselves Ongue-houwe; that is, men

surpassing all others. All the nations round them have for many years entirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly tribute to them of Wampum*.

They dare neither make war or peace without the consent of the Mohawks. Two old men of this tribe commonly go about every year or two to receive this tribute; and I have often had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under while these two old men remained in that part of the country where I was. An old Mohawk Sachem in a poor blanket and dirty shirt may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary authority as a Roman Dictator. It is not however for the sake of tribute they make war, but from notions of glory, which they have ever most strongly imprinted on their minds; and the farther they go to seek an enemy, the greater glory is gained. The Five Nations, in their love of liberty and of their country, in their bravery in battle, and their constancy in enduring torments, equal the fortitude of the most renowned Romans. I shall finish their character by what their enemy, Monsieur De La Potherie in his History of North America says of them: "When we speak in France of the Five Nations they are thought, by a common mistake, to be mere barbarians always thirsting after human blood; but their true character is very different. They are indeed the fiercest and most formidable people in North America, and at the same time are as politic and judicious as can well be

* Wampum is the current money among the Indians: it is of two sorts, white and purple: the white is worked out of the insides of the great Congues into the form of a bead, and perforated so as to be strung on leather, the purple is worked out of the inside of the Muscle Shell: they are wove as broad as one's hand, and about two feet long: these they call Belts, and give and receive them at their treaties, as the seals of friendship. For lesser motives a single string is given; every bead is of a known value; and a belt of a less number is made to equal one of a greater, by so many as is wanted being fastened to the belt by a string.

conceived; and this appears from the management of all the affairs which they transact, not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all the Indian nations of this vast continent."

They strictly form a Roman maxim, to increase their strength by encouraging other nations to incorporate with them, and adopt many captives taken in battle, who afterwards have become sachems and captains. The cruelty the Indians use in their wars, is deservedly held in abhorrence; but whoever has read the history of the far-famed heroes of Greece and Rome, will find them little, if at all, better even in this respect. Does the behaviour of Achilles to Hector's dead body appear less savage? But Achilles had a Homer to blazon forth his virtues; not so the unlettered Indian: every pen is dipped in gall against him. Witness the Carthaginians, and Phenicians offering their children in sacrifice, and in latter days behold men professing Christianity out-stripping all true or fabled cruelty, blasphemously and impiously under the idea of honouring God. Let no member of the church of Rome, nor of any persecuting body, call the Indians savage.

Previous to setting out on any warlike expedition they have a feast, to which all the noted warriors of the nation are invited; when they have the war-dance to the beat of kettle-drums. The warriors are seated on two rows; each rises in turn, and sings the deeds he has performed; so that they work up their spirits to a high degree of enthusiasm. They come to these dances with faces painted in a frightful manner to make themselves look terrible to their enemies. By these war songs they preserve the history of their great achievements*. The solemn reception of these warriors, and the acclamation of applause which they receive at their return, cannot but have on the hearer the same effect in raising an emulation for glory, that a triumph had on

* It is worthy of remark that all Nations have used the same means to record and bear in mind their history.

the old Romans. After their prisoners are secured, they never offer them the least bad treatment, but on the contrary will rather starve themselves than suffer them to want ; and I have been always assured that there is not one instance of their offering the least violence to the chastity of any woman that was their captive. The captives are generally distributed among those who have lost a member of their family in battle : if they are accepted, they enjoy all the privileges the person had ; but if otherwise they die in torment to satiate the revenge of those who refuse them.

They use neither drum nor trumpet, nor any kind of musical instruments in their wars ; their throats serve them on all occasions. We find the same was practised by Homer's heroes :

Thrice to its pitch, his lofty voice he rears,
O friend ! Ulysses' shouts invade my ears.

The hospitality of these Indians is no less remarkable than their other virtues. As soon as any stranger comes among them, they are sure to offer him victuals ; if a number arrive, one of their best houses is cleaned for their accommodation, and not unfrequently they are accommodated with female society while they remain ; but this latter mark of simple hospitality is not now to be found among any of the Indian tribes who have had much intercourse with the whites. The two following traits of character in the Mohawks, M. Colden states as having come under his own knowledge ; he states that when last in their country, the Sachems told him they had an Englishman who had ran from his master in New York, that they never would deliver him up to be punished, but that they would pay the value to his master. Another man made his escape from Albany jail, where he was in prison for debt ; the Mohawks received him, and as they protected him against the sheriff, they not only paid the debt for him but gave him land over and above sufficient for a good farm whereon he lived when M. Colden was last there.

Polygamy is not usual among them, and in case of separa-

tion, according to the natural course of all animals, the children follow the mother. The women bring forth their children with much ease and without any help, and soon after delivery return to their usual employment. They alone perform all the drudgery about the houses, plant the corn, labour at it, cut the fire-wood, carry it home, and on their marches bear the burdens. The men disdaining all kind of labour, employ themselves alone in hunting : at times when it is not proper to hunt, the old men are found in companies in conversation, the young men at their exercises, shooting at marks, throwing the hatchet, wrestling, or running ; and the women all busy at labour in the fields. The ancient state of Lacedemon resembles that of the Five Nations, their laws and customs being formed to render the mind and bodies of the people fit for war. Theft is very scandalous and rare. There is one vice which they have acquired since they became acquainted with the Europeans, of which they knew nothing before, drunkenness ; all, male and female, are awfully given to this vice ; they have not been taught to abhor it ; on the contrary, the traders encourage it for the profit they gain on the Suque, and the bargains they obtain while intoxicated. And this imported vice, from men professing Christianity, has destroyed greater numbers than all their wars and diseases put together.

As to what religion they have it is difficult to judge of them, because the Indians that speak English and live near us, have learned many things of us, and it is not easy to distinguish the notions they had originally among them, from those they have learned of the Christians. It is certain they have no kind of public worship, and I am told they have no radical word to express God, but use a compound word signifying preserver, sustainer, or master of the universe. Their funeral rites seem to infer an idea of a future existence. They make a large hole in which the body can be placed upright, or upon its haunches ; they dress the corpse in all the finery, and put wampum and other things into the grave with it, and the relations suffer not

grass or any weeds to grow on the grave or near it, and frequently visit it with lamentations. Like all nations ignorant of the bible, they are very superstitious in the observance of omens and dreams. The inclination which all ignorant people have to superstition and amusing ceremonies affords the popish priests a great advantage in recommending their religion.

Queen Anne sent over a missionary to reside among the Mohawks, and paid him out of her privy purse; she sent furniture for a chapel, and a valuable set of plate for the communion table, and the like furniture and plate for each of the other nations, though that of the Mohawks was alone applied to the use designed. The Common Prayer Book, or at least a considerable part of it, was translated also into their language and printed; some other pieces were also translated for the Minister's use, *viz.*, an Exposition of the Creed, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, and Church Catechism, and a Discourse on the Sacraments; but as the Minister was never able to obtain any tolerable knowledge of their language, he had but small success, and his allowance failing by the Queen's death, he left them.

There is a custom these men constantly observe, that if they be sent with any message, though it demand the greatest despatch, or though they bring intelligence of any danger, they never tell it at their first approach, but sit down for a moment or two, at least, in silence to recollect themselves before they speak, that they may not shew any degree of fear or surprise by any indecent expression. Every sudden repartee in a public treaty, leaves with them an impression of a light, inconsiderate mind, but in private conversation they use and are as delighted with brisk witty answers, as we can be by them; they shew the great difference they place between the conversation of man and man, and of nation and nation, and this might well be an example to polished nations.

The Dutch who settled in the New Netherlands, now called New York, in 1609, entered into an alliance with the Five

Nations which continued without any breach on their side till the English gained this country. The Dutch gained the hearts of the Five Nations by their kind usage, and were frequently useful to the French in saving those of them that were prisoners from the cruelty of the Indians.

In 1664 New York was taken by the English; they likewise immediately entered into a friendship with the Five Nations, which has continued without the least breach to this day; and history, I believe, cannot give an instance of the most Christian or most Catholic Kings observing a treaty so strictly for so long a time as these barbarians, as they are called, have done.

When the Five Nations make peace with a nation that has taken some of their people prisoners, if their prisoners are dead or cannot be restored, they usually demand some Indians in friendship with the Five Nations in their stead, who either are adopted in place of their dead friends or restored to their own nation; and sometimes they desire some of their enemies to be given them, and even these frequently are adopted by a father in place of a son, by a sister in place of a brother, and most frequently by a wife in place of a husband lost in the wars; but if they chance not to be agreeable to the relations, then they are certainly made sacrifices to their revenge.

The French having for a long time felt the inconvenience and dangers they were in from the warlike spirit of the Five Nations (about the year 1666), sent some of their priests and jesuits among them; and the Governors of New York were ordered by the Duke of York to give their priests all the encouragement in their power. Their chief view was to give the Indians the highest opinion of the French power, and to render the English suspected; for these purposes their priests were well fitted in turning the resentment of the Five Nations of the Indians, that were in friendship with Virginia and Maryland. The Governor of Maryland on the other hand, to prevent the ill consequence of war among nations in friend-

ship with the English, sent Colonel Coursey, in 1677, to Albany, to increase the friendship between Maryland and Virginia and the Five Nations, and accordingly both sides gave mutual promises at Albany of friendship. But this understanding was soon shaken by some parties of the Oneydoes, Onandagos, and Senekas, who were out, and ignorant of the treaty ; one of them having met with the Susquehanas Indians, who were in friendship with Maryland, fell upon them, felled four, and took six prisoners ; five of them fell to the share of the Senekas, who as soon as they arrived in their own country, sent them back with presents, to show they kept their promises with Maryland, but the Oneydoes kept the prisoners they had.

The Dutch settlers, who lived about Albany, spirited up the Indians against the English, having persuaded the Oneydoes that the English at New York were resolved to destroy them : in this the Dutch and French priests joined, and Sworise, one of the Chief Sachems of the Oneydoes excused his people to the governor of Albany, in Feb. 1678, by laying the blame where it ought to rest, by stating they had been informed repeatedly by the people of Schenutady, (Dutch, now become English subjects,) that the English designed to cut them off ; he also brought with him a woman and her child that had been taken prisoners, and restored them, praying the Governor to use his endeavours to have the people restored that had been taken by the people of Virginia ; but they kept another woman and her two children until such time as their prisoner should be restored or some Conastoga Indians given in their place.

The Governor being informed of this last proposal of the Oneydoes, required the immediate delivery of the women and children, and he would write to Virginia to have the Indian prisoners saved ; the Oneydoes promised to bring them in a month's time ; they also informed the governor that eight of these men were out against the people of Virginia, who knew nothing of what was now promised, and should they do any harm it was not to be considered as a breach of their promise,

observing they should be sorry any thing should befall the prisoners they had promised to restore lest it should create jealousies ; but it was to be borne in mind they were mortal.

However, in May following, the Oneydoes, according to promise, came to Albany with the woman and her two children ; and Sworise, when he delivered them to the commissioners for Indian affairs, said,

“ Brethren,—We are come to this place with much trouble as we did last winter, and renew the request we then made, that six Indians be delivered to us in the room of these six Christians, in case our people who are prisoners are dead.

“ None of us have gone out against the Christians since we were last here, but we told you then that some were then out who knew nothing of the Governor’s orders, and we desired that if any thing happened it might not be taken ill. Now thirteen of our people who went out against our Indian enemies, met eighteen men on horseback as far from the English plantation as Cahnuaga is from Albany, they fired upon our people ; our men, being soldiers, returned their fire, and killed two men and two horses, and brought away their scalps. It would be convenient that the governor tell the people of Virginia not to send their men so far from home, or if they should meet our parties on their way against our enemies, the Cahnowas, whom the English call Arogiste, we cannot answer for the consequences. We have now observed the Governor’s orders in bringing the three other Christian prisoners, and we trust the affair of our prisoners wholly to the governor. We have now performed our promises, but where are our prisoners ? or if they be dead, the others in their room ? Now when it is so late in the spring, however, we will trust this to the Governor.” Then delivering the prisoners one by one, said, “ We have, we say, now performed our promises, and are not ashamed. We hope Corlear*, who governs the whole country, will like-

* The name used for the Governor of the state of New York.

wise do that of which we need not be ashamed. Corlear governs the whole land from New York to Albany, and from thence to the Senekas land; we who are his inferiors shall faithfully keep the chain; let him perform his promise as we have ours, that the chain be not broken on his side who governs the whole country."

Then the governor gave them presents for their kind usage of the prisoners; after which Sworise stood up again and said, "Let Corlear take care that the Indian woman that is wanting be restored, and for those that are killed, others in their room. If Corlear will not give ear to us in this affair we will not give ear to him hereafter in any thing." Hearing that these last words were ill taken, Sworise with two Oneydo Sachems, excused it, saying "what we said of not hearkening to Corlear did not proceed from the heart but was spoken by way of argument, to make Corlear more careful to release our people that are prisoners; and you may be convinced it was so, when you consider that it was said after your answer, and without laying down either beavers or any belt of wampum, as we always do when we make propositions; therefore we desire if it be noted it may be blotted out, and not made known to Corlear, for we hold firmly to our covenant, as we said in our propositions."

In consequence of several outrages committed on the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland, Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor-General of Virginia, came to Albany to meet the Sachems of the Five Nations in Council; and having enumerated many acts, and represented that he would have proceeded to like revenge, yet, he was stirred to peace by the interposition of the Governor of New York, and his Lordship having brought two hatchets*, proposed to have them buried in token of peace. The next day being all assembled when the Indians were to reply, the Mohawks answered first by their

All Indians make use of a hatchet or axe as an emblem to express war,

speaker saying " We must in the first place say something to the other Three Nations, by way of reproof for their not keeping the former chain as they ought; and therefore we desire you, great Sachem of Virginia, and your Corlear, and all here present, to give ear, for we will conceal nothing of the evil they have done." Then turning to the other nations: " You have heard yesterday all that has been said; as for our parts we are free of the blame laid on us; we have always been obedient to Corlear and have steadily kept our chain with Virginia, Maryland, and Boston: but ye are stupid and brutish, and have no understanding: we must thump understanding into you: let the new chain made yesterday (the proposition of peace by his Lordship) be carefully preserved for the future; this we earnestly recommend to you, for we are ready to cry for shame of you; let us be no more ashamed on your account, but be obedient and take this belt to keep what we say in your memory. Hear now, now is the time to hearken; the covenant chain had very near slipt by your not keeping it firmly: hold it fast now when all former evils are buried in the pit.

" You Oneydoes, I speak to you as children; be no longer childish or void of understanding. You Onondagas, our brethren, you are like deaf people that cannot hear, your senses are covered with dirt and filth.

" You Cayugas, do not return unto your former ways; there are three things we must all observe.

" First. The covenant with Corlear. Secondly, the covenant with Virginia and Maryland. Thirdly, with Boston. We must thump understanding into you, that you may be obedient, and take this belt for a remembrancer."

Then Cadeanne, the same Mohawk speaker turning to Lord Howard said, " We are very thankful to you, great Sachem of Virginia, that you are persuaded by Corlear, our governor, to forgive all former faults. We are very glad to hear you and see your heart softened. Take these three beavers as a token. We thank the great Sachem of Virginia for saying that the axe

shall be thrown into the pit. Take these two beavers as a token of our joy and thanksgiving.

“We are glad that Assarigoa *, will bury in the pit what is past; let the earth be trod hard over it, or rather let a strong stream run under the pit to wash the evil away out of our sight and remembrance, and that it may never be dug up again.

“Assarigoa, you are a man of knowledge and understanding, thus to keep the covenant-chain bright as silver, and now again to renew it and make it stronger:” (then pointing to the other three nations, he said) “but they are chain breakers. I lay down this as a token that we Mohawks have preserved the chain intire on our parts.” Puts down two beavers and a racoon.

“The covenant must be kept; for the fire of love of Virginia and Maryland burns in this place, as well as in our’s; and the house of peace must be kept clean.” Gives two beavers.

“We now plant a tree †, whose top will reach the sun and its branches spread far abroad, so that it shall be seen afar off: and we shall shelter ourselves under it, and live in peace without molestation.” Here he gave two beavers.

“You have not heard what expectation we have made to the other three nations. We have taken the hatchet out of their hands. We now, therefore, pray that both your hatchets may likewise be buried in a deep pit.” Giving two beavers.

“Assarigoa! some of us Mohawks are out against our enemies, that lie far off; they will do you no harm, nor plunder as the others do. Be kind to them, and if they shall happen to come to any of your plantations, give them some tobacco and some victuals; for they will neither rob nor steal as the Oneydoes, Onondagas, and Cayugas have done.

“The Oneydoes particularly thank you, great Sachem of Virginia, for consenting to lay down the axe; the hatchet is taken out of all their hands.” Gives a belt of wampum.

* The name the Five Nations always give the Governor of Virginia.

† The Five Nations always express peace by the metaphor of a tree.

“ We again thank Assarigoa that he has made a new chain ; let it be kept bright and clean, and held fast on all sides ; let not any one pull his arm from it. We include all the four nations in giving this belt.

“ We again pray Assarigoa to take the Oneydas into his favour, and keep the chain strong with them, for they are our children.” Gives a belt.

“ The Oneydas give twenty beavers as a satisfaction for what they promised the Lord Baltimore, and desire they may be discharged of that debt.”

The two governors having promised to use their endeavours with Lord Baltimore to forgive the remainder :

Then the Indians desired that the hole might be dug to bury the axes. One on behalf of Virginia and their Indians, another on behalf of Maryland and theirs, and three for the Onondagas, Oneydoes and Cayugas. The Mohawks said there was no need of burying any on their account, for the first chain had never been broken by them.

Then the Three Nations spoke, by Onnondaga, called Thanohjanihta, who said, “ We thank the great Sachem of Virginia, that he has so readily forgiven and forgot the injuries that have been done, and we for our parts gladly catch at it, and lay hold of the new chain.” Then each of them delivered an axe to be buried, and gave a belt. “ I speak in the name of all Three Nations, and include them in the chain, which we desire may be kept clean and bright like silver.” Gives a belt.

“ We desire that the path may be open for the Indians under Assarigoa’s protection, to come safely and freely to this place in order to confirm the peace.” Gives six fathoms of wampum. Then the axes were buried in the court-yard, and the Indian threw the earth upon them.

Lastly, All the Oneydas, the Onnondagas, and the Cayugas, jointly sang the peace-song with joy, and thanked the Governor of New York for his effectual mediation with the Governor of Virginia in their favour. In the month of August, after the

foregoing treaty, the following speech was delivered by the Onondagas and Cayugas to the two Governors:—

“ Brother Corlear,

“ Your Sachem (meaning the king) is a great Sachem, and we are but a small people : when the English came in first to Manhattan*, Aragiske†, and to Yakokranogary‡, they were then but a small people, and we were great ; then because we found you a good people, we treated you kindly and gave you land ; we hope therefore now that you are great and we small, you will protect us from the French. If you do not we shall lose all our hunting and beavers, the French will get all our beavers. The reason they are now angry with us, is because we carry our beaver to our brethren. We have put our lands and ourselves under the protection of the great Duke of York, the brother of your great Sachem, who is likewise a great Sachem. We have annexed the Susquehanna river, which was won with the sword, to their government ; and we desire it may be a branch of the great tree that grows in this place ; the top of which reaches the sun, and its branches shelter us from the French and all other nations. Our fire burns in your houses, and your fire burns with us ; we desire it may be so always. But we will not, that any of the great Penn’s people settle upon the Susquehanna River, for we have no other land for our children ; our young men are soldiers, and when they are provoked they are like wolves in the woods, as you, Sachem of Virginia, very well know. We have put ourselves under the great Sachem Charles, that lives on the other side the great lake (the Atlantic ocean) : we give these two white dressed deer-skins to send to the great Sachem, that he may write on them and put a great red seal to them, to confirm what we now do, and put the Susquehanna river and all the rest of our land under the great Duke of York, and give that land to none else. Our brethren, his people have been like fathers to our wives and children, and have given us bread

* New York.

† Virginia.

‡ Maryland.

when we were in need of it; we will not therefore join ourselves or our land to any other government but this. We desire Corlear, our Governor, may send this our proposition to the great Sachem Charles who dwells on the other side the great lake, with this belt of wampum, and this other small belt, to the Duke of York his brother, and we give you Corlear this beaver that you may send over the proposition.

“ You great man of Virginia, we let you know that the great Penn did speak to us here, in Corlear’s house, by his agents, and desired to buy the Susquehana river of us; but we would not hearken to him, for we had fastened it to this government.

“ We desire you therefore to bear witness of what we now do, and that we now confirm what we have done before; let your friend that lives on the other side the great lake, know this, that we being free people, though united to the English, may give our land to the Sachem we like best: we give this beaver to remember what we say.” The Sennekas arrived soon after, and on the fifth of August, spoke to Lord Howard in the following manner:—

“ We have heard and understood what mischief hath been done in Virginia; we have it perfect as if it were upon our fingers’ ends. O Corlear! we thank you for having been our intercessor, so that the axe has not fallen on us; and, you Assarigoo, great Sachem of Virginia, we thank you for burying all evil in the pit. We are informed that the Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, and Cayugas have buried them already. Now we that live remotest off, are come to do the same, and to include in the chain the Cahnawas your friends. We desire therefore that an axe on our part may be buried with one of Assarigoo’s. O Corlear, O Corlear! we thank you for laying hold of one end of the axe; and we thank you, great Governor of Virginia, not only for throwing aside the axe, but more especially for your putting all evil from your heart. Now we have a new chain, a strong, and a straight chain that cannot be broken; the tree of peace is planted so firmly, that it cannot be removed; let us on both sides hold the chain fast,

We understand what you said of the great Sachem that lives on the other side of the great water. You tell us that the Cahnawas will come hither to strengthen the chain ; let them not make any excuse that they are old and feeble, or that their feet are sore. If the old Sachem cannot, let the young men come : we shall not fail to come hither, though we live farthest off, and then the new chain will be stronger and brighter. We understand that because of the mischief that has been done to the people and castles of Virginia and Maryland, we must not come near the heads of your rivers, nor near your plantations, but keep on the foot of the mountains, for there we lay down our arms as friends ; we shall not be trusted for the future, but looked on as robbers. We agree, however, to the proposition, and shall wholly stay away from Virginia. And then we do no gratitude to Corlear, who has been at so great pains to persuade your great Governor of Virginia to forget what is past : you are wise in giving ear to Corlear's advice, for we shall now go a path which was never trod before. We have now done speaking to Corlear and the Governor of Virginia, let the chain be for ever kept clean and bright by him, and we shall do the same.

“The other nations from the Mohawk's country to the Cayugas, have delivered up the Susquehanna river, and all the country to Corlear's government : we confirm what they have done by giving this belt.”

The Senekas lie next the lakes, and nearest the nation with which the French carried on the greatest trade. The Senekas were so averse to the French, that they never would receive any priests among them, and were firmly attached to the English who supplied them with arms and powder : for these reasons M. De la Barre, Governor of Canada, sent a message to Col. Dungan, the Commander at Albany, to complain of the injuries the Senekas had done the French, and to shew the necessity he was under, to bring the Five Nations to reason by force of arms. The messenger happening to come at the time the Indians met Lord Howard at Albany, Col. Dungan told

the Senekas, the complaints of the French, on the fifth of August, in presence of the Governor of Canada's messenger. The Senekas replied to said complaints as follows:—

“ We were sent for and are come, and have heard what you said to us, that Corlear hath great complaint of us, both from Virginia and Canada: what they complain of from Canada may possibly be true, that some of our young men have taken some of their goods, but Younendio the Governor of Canada is the cause of it. He not only permits his people to carry ammunition, guns, powder, lead, and axes, to the Ticebticebronoons our enemies, but sends them thither on purpose: these guns which he sends, knock our beaver-hunters on the head, and our enemies carry the beaver to Canada, that we would have brought our brethren. Our beaver hunters are soldiers, and could bear this no longer. They met some French in their way to our enemies, and very near them, carrying ammunition, which our men took from them. This is agreeable to our customs in wars; and we may therefore openly own it, though we know not whether it be practised by the christians in such like cases.

“ When the Governor of Canada speaks to us of the chain, he calls us children, and saith, I am your father, you must hold fast the chain, and I will do the same, I will protect you as a father doth his children. Is this protection, to speak thus with his lips, and at the same time to knock us on the head, by assisting our enemies with ammunition? He always says, I am your father, and you are my children; and yet he is angry with his children, for taking these goods. But, O Corlear! O Assarigoa! we must complain to you; you Corlear are a lord, and govern this country: is it just that our father is going to fight with us for these things, or is it well done? We rejoiced when La Sal was sent over the great water; and when Perot was removed, because they had furnished our enemies with ammunition; but we are disappointed in our hopes, for we find our enemies are still sup-

plied. Is this well done? Yea, he often forbids us to make war on any of the nations with whom he trades; and at the same time furnishes them with all sorts of ammunition, to enable them to destroy us.

“ Thus far in answer to the complaint, the Governor of Canada hath made of us to Corlear.

“ Corlear said to us, that satisfaction must be made to the French, for the mischief we have done them.

“ This he said before he heard our answer. Now let him that hath inspection over all our countries, on whom our eyes are fixed, let him, even Corlear, judge and determine. If you say that it must be paid, we shall pay it, but we cannot live without free beaver-hunting. Corlear, hear what we say; we thank you for the Duke's arms, which you have given us to put in our castles, as a defence to them. You command them. Have you wandered out of the way, as the Governor of Canada says? we do not threaten him with war, as he threatens us. What shall we do? Shall we run away, or shall we sit still in our houses? What shall we do? we speak to him that governs and commands us.

“ Now Corlear, and Assarigoa, and all people here present; remember what we have announced to the complaints of the Governor of Canada; yea, we wish that what we here said, may come his ears.”

The following method prevails among the Indians in their councils, in order that they may consider with clearness, and reply, as it were, paragraph by paragraph, for they are ignorant of letters, or other signs of ideas, or means of recording speeches, propositions or agreements. They commonly repeat over among themselves, all that has been said to them before they return an answer, and one may be surprised at the exactness of their repetitions. They take the following method to assist their memories; the Sachem who presides at these conferences, has a bundle of small sticks in his hand. As soon as the speaker has finished any one article of his speech,

the Sachem gives a stick to another Sachem who is particularly to remember that article; and so when another article is finished he gives a stick to another, and so on. In like manner when the speaker answers, each of these have the particular care of the answer resolved on to each article, and prompts the orator when his memory fails him in the article committed to his charge.

AT a Council held in Philadelphia, July, 1742, attended by sundry Chiefs from the Six Nations, the Delawares and Folk Indians—*

CANASSATIEGO said :

Brethren, the Governor and Council,—The other day you informed us of the misbehaviour of our cousins the Delawares with respect to their continuing to claim, and refusing to remove from, some land on the river Delaware, notwithstanding their ancestors had sold it by deed, under their hands and seals to the Proprietaries for a valuable consideration upwards of fifty years ago, and that notwithstanding that they themselves had also not many years ago, after a long and full examination ratified that deed of their ancestors, and gave a fresh one under their hands and seals; and then you requested us to remove them, enforcing your request with a string of wampum. Afterwards we laid on the table our own letters by Conrad Weiser; some of our cousins' letters, and the several writings to prove the charge against our cousins, with a draft of the land in dispute. We now tell you we have perused all these several papers. We see with our own eyes that they have been a very unruly people, and are altogether in the wrong in their dealings with you.

We have concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the river Delaware, and quit all claim to any lands on this side for the future, since they have received pay for them, and it is gone through their guts long ago. To confirm to you that we will see your request executed, we lay down this string of wampum in return for yours.

* Colden's Indians, vol. ii. p. 35.

Then turning to the Delawares, holding a belt of wampum in his hand, he spoke to them as follows:—

Cousins,—Let the belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head, and shaken severely till you recover your senses and become sober. You don't know what ground you stand on, nor what you are doing. Our brother Onas's* cause is very just and plain, and his intentions are to preserve friendship; on the other hand, your cause is bad, your heart far from being upright; and you are maliciously bent to break the chain of friendship with our brother Onas and his people. We have seen with our eyes a deed signed by nine of your ancestors above fifty years ago, for this very land, and a release signed not many years since by some of yourselves and chiefs now living, to the number of fifteen or upwards. But how came you to take upon you, to sell land at all? We conquered you, we made women of you; you know you are women, and can no more sell land than women; nor is it fit you should have the power of selling land, since you would abuse it. This land that you claim has gone through your guts, you have been furnished with clothes, meat, and drink by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again like children as you are. But what matters? you sell land in the dark. Did you ever tell us that you had sold their land? did we ever receive any part, even the value of a pipe-shank from you for it? You have told us a blind story, that you sent a messenger to us, to inform us of the sale; but he never came amongst us, nor we never heard any thing about it: this is acting in the dark, and very different from the conduct our 'Six Nations observe in the sales of land; on such occasions they give public notice, and invite all the Indians of the united nations, and give them all a share of the presents they receive for their lands. This is the behaviour of the wise nations. But we find you are none of our blood; you

* Name of the Governor of Pennsylvania.

act a dishonest part, not only in this but in other matters; your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about our brethren; you receive them with as much greediness as lewd women receive the embraces of bad men; and for all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you the liberty to think about it. You are women, take the advice of a wise man, and remove immediately. You may remove to the other side of Delaware, where you came from; but we do not know whether, considering how you have demeaned yourselves, you will be permitted to live there, or whether you have not swallowed that land down your throats, as well as the land on this side. We therefore assign you two places, to go either to Wyoman or Shamokin; you may go to either of these places; and then we shall have you, more under our eye, and shall see how you behave; don't deliberate, but remove away, and take the belt of wampum. After our just reproof, and absolute order to depart from the land, you are now to take notice of what we have further to say to you.

This string of wampum serves to forbid you, your children and grand-children to the latest posterity, for ever, meddling in land affairs; neither you nor any who shall descend from you, are ever hereafter to presume to sell any land: for which purpose you are to preserve this string, in memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brothers; and therefore depart the Council, and consider what has been said to you.

CANASSATIEGO then spoke to the Council:

Brethren,—We called at our old friend, James Logans in our way to the city, and to our grief we found him hid in the bushes, and retired through infirmities from public business: we pressed him to leave his retirement, and prevailed with him to as-

sist once more on our account at your councils. We hope, notwithstanding his age and the effects of a fit of sickness, which we understand has hurt his constitution, that he may yet continue a long time to assist the provinces with his counsels. He is a wise man, and a fast friend to the Indians; and we desire when his soul goes to God, you may choose in his room just such another person, of the same prudence and ability in counselling, and of the same tender disposition and affection for the Indians. In testimony of our gratitude for all his services, and because he was so good as to leave his country house, and follow us to town, and be at the trouble in this his advanced age to attend the council, we present him with this bundle of skins.

Brethren, It is always our way at the conclusion of a treaty, to desire you will use your endeavours with the traders, that they may sell their goods cheaper, and give us better price for our deer-skins. Whenever any particular sort of Indian goods is scarce, they constantly make us pay the dearer on that account. We must now use the same argument with them. Our deer are killed in such quantities, and our hunting countries growing less every day, by the settlement of white people, that game is now difficult to find, and we must go a great way in quest of it; they therefore ought to give us a better price for our skins, and we desire you would speak to them to do so. We have been stinted in the article of rum in town, we desire you will open the rum bottle, and give it to us in greater abundance on the road: to enforce this request, we present you a bundle of skins.

Brethren,—When we first came to your houses, we found them clean and in order, but we have staid so long as to dirty them, which is to be imputed to our different way of living from the white people; and therefore as we cannot but have been disagreeable to you on this account, we present you with some skins to make your houses clean, and put them in the same condition they were in when we came amongst you.

Brethren,—The business of the Five Nations is of great consequence, and requires a skilful honest person to go between us; one in whom both you and we can place confidence. We esteem our present interpreter to be such a person, equally faithful in the interpretation of whatever is said to him by either of us, equally allied to both; he is of our nation, and a member of our council, as well as of yours.

When we adopted him, we divided him into two equal parts; one we kept for ourselves, and one we left for you. He has had a great deal of trouble with us, wore out his shoes in our messages, and dirtied his clothes by being among us; so that he is become as nasty as an Indian. In return for these services we recommend him to your generosity; and on our own behalf we give him five skins to buy him clothes and shoes.

Brethren,—We have still one favour to ask: our treaty and all we have to say about public business is now over, and tomorrow we design to leave you. We hope as you have given us plenty of good provision whilst in the town, that you will continue your goodness so far, as to supply us on the road. And we likewise desire you will provide us with waggons to carry our goods to the place where they are to be conveyed by water.

To which the Governor made a suitable reply; observing, amongst other things, that the judgment they had passed on the Delawares, confirms the high opinion ever entertained of the justice of the Six Nations, and for which they were deservedly famed; and concluded by granting their requests, as to supply of provision and waggons for the road, &c. &c.

At a Council, held at Lancaster, June the 30th, 1744.

Among other things the Governor observed, relative to the possession of certain lands, that such belonged to the great

King, the common father, who will do equal justice to all his children. Whereupon on the next day, after hearing the Governor, Gachradodow in a strong voice, and with a proper action, spoke as follows :—

*Great Assaragoa**,—The world at the first was made on the other side of the great water, different from what it is on this side, as may be known from the different colours of our skin and of our flesh, and that which you call justice may not be so amongst us; you have your laws and customs, and so have we. The great King might send you over to conquer the Indians; but it looks to us that God did not approve it; if he had, he would not have placed the sea where it is, as the limits between us and you.

Brother Assaragoa,—Though great things are well remembered among us, yet, we don't remember that we were ever conquered by the great King, or that we have been employed by that great King to conquer others: if it was so, it is beyond our memory. We do remember we were employed by Maryland to conquer the Conestogoes, and that the second time we were at war with them, we carried them all off.

Brother Assaragoa,—You charge us with not acting agreeably to our peace with the Catawbias. We will repeat to you truly what was done; the Governor of New York at Albany in behalf of Assaragoa, gave us several belts of wampum from the Cherokees and Catawbias, and we agreed to a peace, if those nations would send some of their great men to us to confirm it face to face, and that they would trade with us; and desired that they would appoint a time to meet at Albany for that purpose, but they never came.

Brother Assaragoa,—We then desired a letter might be sent to the Catawbias and Cherokees, to desire them to come and confirm the peace. It was long before an answer came, but we met the Cherokees and confirmed the peace, and sent some of

* Name for the Governor of Virginia.

our people to take care of them until they returned to their own country. The Catawbias refused to come, and sent us word that we were but women, and that they were men, and double men; and that they would make women of us, and would be always at war with us; they are a deceitful people: our brother Assarogoa is deceived by them: we don't blame him for it, but are sorry he is so deceived.

Brother Assaragoe,—We have confirmed the peace with the Cherokees, but not with the Catawbias: they have been treacherous and know it, so that the war must continue till one of us is destroyed; thus we think proper to tell you, that you may not be troubled at what we do to the Catawbias.

Brother Assaragoe.—We will now speak to the point between us. It is always a custom among brethren and strangers to use each other kindly; you have some very ill-natured people living up there, so we desire the persons in power may know that we are to have reasonable victuals when we want.

You know very well when the white people came first here, they were poor; but now they have got lands and are by them become rich, and we are now poor: what little we have had for the land goes soon away, but the land lasts for ever. You told us you had brought with you a chest of goods, and that you have the key in your pockets; but we have never seen the chest, nor the goods that are said to be in it: it may be small and the goods may be few; we want to see them, and are desirous to come to some conclusion. We have been sleeping here these two days past, and have not done any thing to the purpose.

The Commissioners replied they should see the goods on Monday.

Lancaster Court-House, July 3rd, 1744.

Present,

GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA ;

COMMISSIONERS FROM VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND ;

THE DEPUTIES OF THE SIX NATIONS.

The GOVERNOR spoke as follows :—

Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,—

At a treaty held with many of the chiefs of your nations two years ago, the road between us was made clearer and wider, our fire was enlarged, and our friendship confirmed, by an exchange of presents.

We think ourselves happy in having been instrumental to your meeting with your brethren of Virginia and Maryland; this has given us an opportunity of seeing you sooner than perhaps we should otherwise have done. As we are under mutual obligation by treaties, we hear with our ears for you, and you hear with your ears for us, we take this opportunity to inform you of what very nearly concerns us both.

The Great King of England and the French King, have declared war against each other; two battles* have been fought, one by land and the other by sea; the great King of England commanded the land army in person, and gained a complete victory; numbers of the French were killed and taken prisoners, and the rest were forced to pass a river to save their lives. The Great God covered the King's head in that battle, so that he did not receive the least hurt, for which you as well as we have reason to be very thankful.

The engagement at sea was likewise to the advantage of the English. The French and the Spaniards joined their ships together and came out to fight us. The brave English Admiral burned one of their largest ships, and many others were so

* The Battle of Ditterjon.

shattered that they were glad to run away in the dark and hide in their own harbour.

I need not put you in mind how much William Penn and his sons have been your friends, and the friends of all the Indians : you have long and often experienced their friendship for you, nor need I repeat to you how kindly you were treated and what valuable presents were made to you two years ago by the Governor, the Council and the Assembly of Pennsylvania : the sons of William Penn are all now in England and have left me in their place, well knowing how much I regard you and all the Indians ; as a fresh proof of this I have left my house and am come to renew our treaties, to brighten the covenant chain, and to confirm our friendship with you : in testimony whereof I present you with this belt of wampum. (Which was received with the yo-ha.)

As your nations have engaged themselves by treaty, to assist us, your brethren of Pennsylvania, in case of a war with the French, we do not doubt but you will punctually perform an engagement so solemnly entered into. A war is now declared, and we expect that you will not suffer the French or any of the Indians in alliance with them, to march through your country to disturb any of our settlements, and that you will give us the earliest and best intelligence of any danger that may be formed by them to our disadvantage, as we promise to do of any that may be to yours. To enforce what I have now said in the strongest manner, I present you with this belt of wampum. (Which was received with the yo-ha.)

After a pause, the Governor proceeded :—

Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,—What I have now said to you is in conformity to treaties subsisting between the province of which I am Governor, and your nations. I now proceed with the consent of the Honourable the Commissioners for Virginia and Maryland, to tell you that all differences having been adjusted, and the roads between

us and you made quite clear and open. We are ready to confirm our treaties with your nations, and establish a friendship that is not to end, but to last with the world itself; and in behalf of the Province of Pennsylvania, I do, by this fine belt of wampum, and a present of goods, to the value of £300, confirm and establish the said treaty of friendship, union, and peace; you on your parts doing the same. (Received with yo-ha.)

The COMMISSIONERS of Virginia spoke as follows:—

The way between us being made smooth by what passed yesterday, we desire now, to confirm all former treaties made between Virginia and you our brethren of the Six Nations: and to make our chain of honour and friendship as bright as the sun, that it may not contract any more rust for ever, that our children's children may rejoice at, and confirm what we have done, and that you and your children may not forget it, we give you one hundred pounds in gold, and this belt of wampum. (Which was received with yo-ha.)

Friends and Brethren,—Although we have been disappointed in our endeavours to bring about a peace between you and the Catawbas, yet we desire to speak to you something more about them; we believe they have been unfaithful to you, and speak of you with a foolish contempt; but this may be only the rashness of some of their young men in this time of war with our common enemies, the French and the Spaniards. It will be the wisest way to be at peace among ourselves; they the Catawbas are also children of the great King, and therefore we desire you will agree, that we may endeavour to make a peace between you and them, and that we may be all united by one chain of friendship. We give you this strong belt of wampum. (Which was received with the yo-ha.)

Brethren.—Our Grand Conrad Weiser, when he is dead, will go into the other world as our fathers have done; our

children will then want such a friend to go between them and your children, to reconcile any differences that may happen to arise between them, one that like him may have the ears and tongues of our children and yours.

The way to have such a friend is for you to send three or four of your boys to Virginia, where we have a fine house for them to live in, and a man on purpose to teach the children of you our friends, the religion, language, and customs of the white people. To this place we kindly invite you to send some of your children, and we promise you, they shall have the same care taken of them, and be instructed in the same manner as our own children; and be returned to you again when you please: and to confirm this, we give you this string of wampum. (Which was received with the usual ceremony.

Then the Commissioners of Maryland expressed their hope, that the chain between them should be kept bright and without any rust, and gave a belt of wampum; which was received with the yo-ha.

CANASSATIEGO in return, spoke as follows:

*Brother Onas Assaragoa, and Tocarry-hogan**,—We return you thanks for your several speeches, which are very agreeable to us; they contain matters of such great moment, that we purpose to give them a very serious consideration, and to answer them suitably to their worth and excellence; and this will take till to-morrow morning; and when we are ready, we will give you due notice.

You tell us you beat the French; if so, you must have taken a great deal of rum from them, and can the better spare us some of that liquor, to make us rejoice with you in the victory.

The Governor ordered a dram of rum to be given to each, in a small glass, calling it a French glass.

* Name given the Governor of Maryland.

July 4th, 1744.

CANESSATIEGO Speaker.

Brother Onas,—Yesterday you expressed your satisfaction in having been instrumental to our meeting with our brethren of Virginia and Maryland. We in return assure you that we have great pleasure in this meeting, and thank you for the part you have had in bringing us together, in order to create a good understanding and to clear the road; and in token of our gratitude we present you with this string of wampum. (Which was received with the usual ceremony.)

Brother Onas,—You was pleased yesterday to remind us of our mutual obligation to assist each other in case of a war with the French, and to repeat the substance of what we ought to do by our treaties with you, and that as a war had been already entered into with the French, you call upon us to assist you, and not to suffer the French to march through our country to disturb any of your settlements. In answer we assure you we have all these particulars in our hearts: they are fresh in our memory: we shall never forget that you and we have but one heart, one head, one eye, one ear, and one hand; we still have all your country under our eye, and take all the care we can to prevent any enemy from coming into it; and in proof of our care we must inform you that before we came here we told Onandio*, our father as he is called, that neither he nor any of his people should come through our country, to hurt our brethren the English, or any of the settlements belonging to them. There was room enough at sea to fight; there he might do what he pleased, but he should not come upon our land to do any damage to our brethren. And you may depend upon our using our utmost care to see this effectually done; and in token of our sincerity we present you with this belt of wampum.

Brother Onas,—You was pleased yesterday to inform us that war had been declared between the great King of England and

* The name for the Governor of Canada.

the French king ; that two great battles had been fought, one by land and the other by sea, with many other particulars. We are glad to hear the arms of the King of England were successful, and take part with you in your joy on this occasion. You then came nearer home, and told us you had left your house and were come this far on behalf of the white people of Pennsylvania, to see us, to renew our treaties, to brighten the covenant chain, and to confer your friendship with us. We approve this proposition, we thank you for it. We own with pleasure that the covenant-chain between us and Pennsylvania is of old standing, and has never contracted any rust ; we wish it may always continue as bright as it has done hitherto, and in token of the sincerity of our wishes we present you with this belt of wampum. (Which was received with the yo-ha.)

After some little time the interpreter said Canassatiego had forgot something material, and desired to mend his speech, and to do so as often as he should omit any thing of moment : and thereupon he added,

The Six Nations have a great authority and influence over sundry tribes of Indians in alliance with the French, and particularly over the praying Indians, formerly a part with ourselves, who stand in the very gates of the French ; and to shew our further care we have engaged these very Indians, and other Indian allies of the French for you ; they will not join the French against you ; they have agreed with us before we set out ; we have put the spirit of antipathy against the French in those people ; our interest is very considerable with them and many other nations, and as far as ever it extends we shall use it for your service.

The governor said Cannassatiego did well to mend his speech ; he might always do it whenever his memory should fail him in any point of consequence, and he thanked him for the very agreeable addition.

Brother Assaragoa,—You told us yesterday that all disputes with you now being at an end, you desired to confirm all for-

mer treaties between Virginia and us, and to make our chain of union as bright as the sun; we agree very heartily with you in these propositions; we thank you for your good inclinations. We desire you will pay no regard to any idle stories that may be told to our prejudice; and as the dispute about the land is now entirely over, and we perfectly reconciled, we hope for the future we shall not act towards each other but as becomes brethren and hearty friends. We are very willing to renew the friendship with you, and to make it as fair as possible for us and our children with you and your children to the last generation. And we desire you will imprint these engagements on your hearts in the strongest manner; and in confirmation, that we shall do the same, we give you this belt of wampum. (Which was received with the yo-ha from the interpreter and all the nations.)

Brother Assaragoa,—You did let us know yesterday that though you had been disappointed in your endeavours to bring about a peace between us and the Catawbias, yet you would still do the best to bring such a thing about; we are well pleased with your design, and the more so as we heard that you know what sort of people the Catawbias are, that they are spiteful and offensive, and have treated us contemptuously; we are glad you know these things of the Catawbias: we believe what you say to be true, that there are, notwithstanding, some among them who are wiser and better; and as you say they are your brethren and belong to the great King over the water, we shall not be against a peace on reasonable terms, provided they will come to the northward to treat about it. In confirmation of what we say, and to encourage you in your undertaking, we give you this string of wampum. (Which was received with the usual ceremonies.)

Brother Assaragoa,—You told us likewise you had a great house provided for the education of youth, and that there were several white people and Indian children there to learn languages and to write and read, and invited us to send some of our

children amongst you. We must let you know we love our children too well to send them so great a way, and the Indians are not inclined to give their children learning; we allow it to be good, and we thank you for your invitation, but your customs differing from ours you will be so good as to excuse us. We hope Tarachwagon (Conrad Wieser the interpreter), will be preserved by the Good Spirit to a good old age; when he is gone under ground it will be then time enough to look out for another; and no doubt but among so many thousands as there are in the world, one such man may be found, who will serve both parties with the same fidelity as Tarachwagon does; while he lives there is no room to complain. In token of our thankfulness for your invitation we give you this string of wampum. (Which was received with the usual ceremony.)

Brother Tocarry-hogan,—You told us yesterday that since there was nothing in controversy between us, and the affair of the land was settled to your satisfaction, you would now brighten the chain of friendship which hath subsisted between you and us ever since we became brothers. We are well pleased with the proposition, and we thank you for it; we also are inclined to renew all treaties and keep a good correspondence with you. You told us further if ever we shall perceive the chain had contracted any rust, to let you know, and you would take care to take the rust out, and preserve it bright. We agree with you in this, and shall on our parts do every thing to preserve a good understanding, and to live in the same friendship with you as with our brother Onas and Assaragoa; in confirmation whereof we give you this belt of wampum. (On which the usual cry of yo-ha was given.)

Brethren,—We have now finished our answer to what you said to us yesterday, and shall now proceed to Indian affairs, that are not of so general a concern.

Brother Assaragoa,—There lives a nation of Indians on the other side of your country, the Tuscaroras, who are our friends, and with whom we hold correspondence; but the road

between us and them has been stopped for some time on account of the misbehaviour of some of our warriors. We have opened a new road for our warriors, and they shall keep to that; but as that would be inconvenient for messengers going to the Tuscaroras, we desire they may go the old road. We frequently send messengers to one another, and we shall have more occasion to do so now that we have concluded a peace with the Cherokees; to enforce our request we give you this string of wampum.

Brother Assaragoa,—Among these Tuscaroras there live a few families of the Coney Indians, who are desirous to leave them, and to remove to the rest of their nation among us, and the straight road from thence to us lies through the middle of your country; we desire you will give them a free passage through Virginia, and furnish them with passes; and to enforce our request we give you this string of wampum. (Received with the usual yo-ha.)

Brothers Onas, Assaragoa, and Tocarry-hogan,—At the close of your respective speeches yesterday, you made us very handsome presents, and we should return you something suitable to your generosity; but, alas! we are poor, and shall ever remain so as long as there are so many Indian traders among us; them and the white people both have eat up all the grass and make deer scarce. However, we have provided a small present for you, and though some of you gave us more than others, yet as you are all equally our brethren, we shall leave it to you to divide it as you please. (And then presented three bundles of skins, which was received with the usual ceremony from the three governments.)

We have one thing further to say, and that is we heartily recommend union and a good agreement between you our brethren; never disagree, but preserve a strict friendship for one another, and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger. Our wise fore-fathers established union and amity between the Five Nations; this has made us formidable, this

has given us great weight and authority with our neighbouring nations. We are a powerful confederacy; and by your observing the same methods our wise fore-fathers have taken, you will acquire fresh strength and power; and, therefore, what ever befalls you, never fall out one with the other.

The GOVERNOR replied,

We return you thanks for the many proofs of your zeal for the English, and for your having so early engaged in a neutrality the several tribes of Indians in the French alliance. As to your presents we estimate them, not for their real worth but by the disposition of the giver, and put a high value on them. We are obliged by your recommending peace and good agreement among ourselves. We are all, as well as you, subjects of the great King beyond the water, and we will always be inclined to live in friendship, as it is our interest and duty.

Then the commissioners from Virginia presented the three hundred pounds in gold, which was received with yo-ha; and promised the Coney Indians should have passes to the northward. The commissioners from Maryland presented three hundred pounds in gold, which was likewise received with yo-ha.

CANASSATIEGO said,

We mentioned to you yesterday the booty you had taken from the French, and asked you for some of the rum, which we supposed to be part of it, and you gave us some; but it turned out unfortunately that you gave it in French glasses; we now desire you will give us some in English glasses.

The GOVERNOR made answer,

We are glad to hear you have such a dislike for what is French; they cheat you in your glasses as well as in every thing else; you must consider we are at a distance from Williamsburgh, Arnocopolis, and Philadelphia, where our rum stores

are ; and although we brought a good quantity, you have almost drank it all out : but we have enough left to fill our English glasses, and will shew the difference between the narrow ways of the French and the generosity of your brethren the English towards you. The Indians gave in their order five yo-hahs ; and the Governor, calling for rum, drank health to the great King of England and the Six Nations, and put an end to the treaty by three loud huzzas.

The commissioners of Virginia gave Canassatiego a scarlet camblet coat, and took leave in form ; those of Maryland presented Gachradodow with a broad gold-laced hat, and took leave in like manner.

John G. Lewis
July 7 23
THE END. *J*

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